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EXTRACTS FROM THE WILL OF THE LATE
WILLARD FISKE

—"I give and bequeath to the Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, all my books relating to Iceland and the old Scandinavian literature and history. . . ."

—"I give and bequeath to the said Cornell University . . . the sum of Five Thousand (5000) Dollars, to have and to hold for ever, in trust, nevertheless, to receive the income thereof, and to use and expend the said income for the purposes of the publication of an annual volume relating to Iceland and the said Icelandic Collection in the library of the said University."

In pursuance of these provisions the following volumes of ISLANDICA have been issued:

- I. Bibliography of the Icelandic Sagas, by Halldór Hermannsson. 1908.
- II. The Northmen in America (982-c. 1500), by Halldór Hermannsson. 1909.
- III. Bibliography of the Sagas of the Kings of Norway and related Sagas and Tales, by Halldór Hermannsson. 1910.
- IV. The Ancient Laws of Norway and Iceland, by Halldór Hermannsson. 1911.
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IX. Icelandic Books of the Sixteenth Century, by Halldór Hermannsson. 1916.

X. Annalium in Islandia farrago and De mirabilibus Islandiæ, by Bishop Gísli Oddsson. Edited by Halldór Hermannsson. 1917.

XI. The Periodical Literature of Iceland down to the year 1874. An historical sketch by Halldór Hermannsson. 1918.

XII. Modern Icelandic. An essay by Halldór Hermannsson. 1919.

XIII. Bibliography of the Eddas, by Halldór Hermannsson. 1920.

XIV. Icelandic Books of the Seventeenth Century, by Halldór Hermannsson. 1922.

There have also been issued:

CATALOGUE of the Icelandic Collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Compiled by Halldór Hermannsson. Ithaca, N. Y., 1914. 4° pp. viii + 755.

CATALOGUE of Runic Literature forming a part of the Icelandic Collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Compiled by Halldór Hermannsson. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1917. 4° pp. viii + (2) + 106, 1 pl.

ISLANDICA

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AND THE
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JÓN GUÐMUNDSSON AND HIS NATURAL
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HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON

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It is noteworthy how little information there is to be found in the old Icelandic literature about the physical conditions and natural history of the country. The reason for this could scarcely be that the Icelanders of those early centuries were insensible to or unobservant of nature. Many of them being sailors and merchants it was essential for them to be very mindful of natural objects and phenomena of all kinds, since these frequently were almost the only things that could guide them on their voyages, or help them to ascertain their position at sea. In this respect the heavenly bodies were, of course, most important, but it is to be remembered that in the North Atlantic with its frequent fog and clouded sky, these were often hidden for a long space of time, and under such conditions other means had to be resorted to, and among them were doubtless the observation and identification of animals and plants. One finds evidences of this in the sagas, where for instance it is told that sailors met birds from land, and that from some particular land.¹ Contours of land had to be well remembered, and close observations made of the movements of the sea, and of winds and weather. The necessity of paying close attention to these last three is strongly emphasized in the Norwegian *Speculum regale*, or *Konungs skuggsjá*, the only work in the Old Norse tongue where those matters are treated at some length.² It is likewise the only one giving a somewhat full description of the natural phenomena of Iceland and of the animals, real and imaginary, to be found in the sea surrounding the country, thus presenting a good example of what knowledge people possessed of those things, although this has been scantily recorded in writing. In his saga of Bishop Guðmundur Arason, Abbot Arngrímur wrote about the middle of the fourteenth century a brief chapter on the natural wonders of Iceland, and he made this description form a background for the life of the alleged saint and shiftless prelate.³ Otherwise in

¹ See for instance *Færeyinga saga*, ed. Rafn, 1832, chap. 23; *Eiríks saga rauða*, ed. Storm, 1891, chap. 5.

² For bibliography, see *Islandica* II. pp. 44-45. The latest, critical ed. of it, by Finnur Jónsson, was publ. in 1920.

³ *Biskupa sögur* II. pp. 5-6.

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the early literature those things are made mention of occasionally in passing. But this is sufficient to show what attention was paid to them.

With the decline of trade and seamanship the knowledge necessary for and acquired in such occupations, was doubtless gradually forgotten, or lived in oral tradition in more or less garbled form. Interest in natural objects was directed solely by economic demands or necessity, attention being paid only to those which could be used as food or in other ways help man in his struggle for existence. In a superstitious age this interest might, however, appear under various forms, but always with some practical end in view. An unwarranted and unusual curiosity about those things would be likely to be interpreted unfavorably by people as having some sinister purpose. In the meagre Icelandic literature of the last centuries of the Middle Ages there is nothing which indicates any particular interest in nature, and for the most part of the sixteenth century people were too occupied with religious questions to pay much attention to other things.

But during the last decades of that century there are definite signs of lively interest in the national history and of increasing curiosity about the physical conditions of the country. Of course this may be traced to the late Renaissance, and there are two causes which make this movement active. One is the influence of Tycho Brahe, the famous Danish astronomer, which aroused interest in geography and natural science in general. He had, at least, one prominent Icelandic pupil, Oddur Einars-son,¹ afterwards bishop of Skálholt who wrote a description of Iceland, which unfortunately is lost, but doubtless was used by his son and successor, Bishop Gísli Oddsson, who is the author of the earliest extant treatise, from an Icelandic pen, dealing with the geography and natural phenomena of Iceland, imperfect as it may now seem to us.² Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson who first determined the geographical location of Iceland and made the first fairly correct map of the country was a friend and correspondent of the famous astronomer.³

¹ Þorv. Thoroddsen, *Landfræðissaga Ísl.* II. pp. 67, 107-08.

² Printed in *Islandica* X.

³ P. Thoroddsen, *op. cit.* I. p. 211.—Similar was Brahe's influence in Norway, see Björnbo and Petersen, *Anecdota chartograph. septentrionalia* 1908, pp. 9-10; Y. Nielsen, *Norges historie*, IV. 1. 1909, pp. 265-66.

The other cause which spurred the Icelanders to action in these matters was the misleading and derogatory accounts which often were given of their land and nation in foreign books. It is noteworthy that all the Latin works of Arngrímur Jónsson were called forth in that way, as a protest against foreign calumnies and with the view of imparting a trustworthy information about a subject so little known outside the limits of the country. His books are, however, of an historical, antiquarian, and chorographical character, physical geography and natural history being neglected, because as one of his contemporaries expressed it, Arngrímur for the most part crosses natural science dry-shod.¹ It was only on account of the numerous and persistent inquiries from his learned friend and correspondent, Dr. Ole Worm, that he gave some attention to natural objects and wrote a little about them in his letters.²

These writers I have now mentioned were all educated men who had studied at home and abroad. But the movement did not stop with them; as has always been the case in Iceland it reached soon the common people, and men without any schooling emulated the educated in studying these matters and writing about them, but while the latter wrote in the language of the learned, the former used their native tongue as a medium. The most remarkable of them was Jón Guðmundsson, in many ways probably one of the most gifted men of the period. He and his like are generally supposed to represent the popular knowledge and opinions, being less influenced from outside. This is indeed true in most cases, but must be applied with many reservations to Jón, because, although he was of the common people, and shared their superstitions and views, he was a man of great natural gifts, of insatiable curiosity, of uncommonly wide reading, of extensive, if for the most part involuntary, travel, and possessing a keen power of observation. But with all this he was credulous and uncritical; he indiscriminately gathered in everything he found, and could not as well as his more learned brethren distinguish between what was national and what was foreign, but often mixed both together. Nor did the acquisition of knowledge widen perceptibly his horizon; because his system was fixed and inelastic; new facts were made to fit into it, and

¹ Olai Wormii *Epistolæ* II. p. 595.

² P. Thoroddsen, *op. cit.* I. p. 232f.; Olai Wormii *Epistolæ*.—For the Latin works of Arngrímur Jónsson, see *Islandica* IX. and XIV.

were not sought in order to open new vistas. I shall now give a brief sketch of his long and unhappy life, the principal sources for which are his own writings, especially his long autobiographical poem called *Fjölmdður*.¹

He was born in 1574 on a farm near Ófeigsfjord² on the east coast of the northwestern peninsula of Iceland. Both on his father's and his mother's side he was distantly connected with some of the leading families in the country, and he wrote a genealogical treatise to prove this relationship.³ He was brought up chiefly by his paternal grandfather Hákon Þormóðsson who died in 1597. His father died a year or so later, and Jón definitely charges that his life was cut short by a sorcerer, who afterwards persecuted Jón himself until he met his death.⁴ Jón married about 1601 a certain Sigríður Þorleifsdóttir, about whom we know little beyond what we infer from her husband's writings; she shared his beliefs and opinions and proved a faithful companion in his troubles and wanderings, but she was popularly suspected of being well versed in witchcraft. They first lived on a small farm in Kollafjord, another of these small fjords branching out from Húnaflói, but they later moved to Ólafsey in Breiðifjord, not far from the ancestral seat of the Skarð family which Jón apparently often visited, making use of their books and written records, to which he often refers. But here again he encountered difficulties, caused by a visitor from the invisible world. One of the ancient settlers (Geirmundur heljarskinn) had been buried on the island, and his ghost began to torment the newcomer; finally Jón succeeded by magic means

¹ Ed. with introduction by Páll E. Ólason, in *Safn til sögu Íslands* V. 3, Reykjavík 1916, 8°. pp. 92.—For other writings on Jón, see especially Björn á Skarðsa, *Annálar* 1774, pp. 261–62; Jón Halldórsson, *Biskupa sögur* II. pp. 86–88; Finnur Jónsson, *Hist. Eccles. Isl.* III. pp. 46, 518–19, 590–93; Jón Espólin, *Árbætur Isl.* V. pp. 136–37, 144, VI. pp. 49, 65–66, 74, 84–85, 122 137, VII. p. 22; Magnús Ketilsson, *Forordningar*, etc. II. pp. 409–10; Bogi Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir* II. pp. 215–18; Jón Þorkelsson, *Digtingen paa Isl.* 1888, pp. 485–87; Þorv. Thoroddsen, *Landfræðissaga* II. pp. 73–93; Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I. pp. x–xviii (by Guðbr. Vigfússon); Ólafur Davíðsson, *Tímarit h. ísl. Bmfél.* XIV. pp. 194–97; Hálfmán Einarsson, *Sciagraphia* pp. 82, 137, 139–40, 169.

² 'Jeg var að sönnu fæddur 1574 í Ófeigzfirði við Strandir' (*Tfdr.*).

³ 'Ritgerð Jóns Guðmundssonar lærða um ættir o. fl. Með formála og athugasemdum eftir Hannes Þorsteinsson,' in *Safn til sögu Ísl.* III. pp. 701–28.

⁴ *Fjölmdður* st. 23ff.

in putting the ghost to rest.¹ But shortly thereafter Jón was persuaded by gifts and promises to leave the island and return to his native district. The promises were not fulfilled, and this change had the most serious consequences for his future, as will be seen from what follows.

At that time there was great excitement in one of the neighboring districts, the so-called Snæfjallaströnd, over the activities of a ghost. A son of the local clergyman had lost his life in executing a task which his father had ordered him to carry out, very much against his own will. Not long thereafter he reappeared as ghost, causing a great deal of trouble to people, even doing them bodily harm by throwing stones at them. An account of this has been preserved in oral tradition, and there Jón Guðmundsson's name is in no way connected with it.² But he refers to it in his autobiography, not however directly giving himself the credit for putting an end to the nuisance. Þorleifur Þórðarson,³ a renowned sorcerer, had been called in by the people, but all his efforts had failed, and the ghost was worse than ever. Then apparently Jón was appealed to, and through most powerful magic songs he coerced the spook to desist and thus secured peace to the frightened populace.⁴ These poems, the *Snæfjallavísur*, really three different songs, have been preserved, and have been classed as the most forceful magic poetry in the language,⁵ but a less credulous age has probably some difficulty in appreciating them, or seeing them in the same light as the poet's contemporaries, yet even to-day they make interesting reading. Jón became widely known for thus conjuring a ghost to rest, but such fame was a two-edged sword in the period of witchcraft trials. There was now no doubt about his possessing magic powers; to be sure, he had in this case used them in the service of his fellowmen, but he might at any time make a different use of them. Thus he really was a marked man. It was, however, another event which happened shortly after this, that was the immediate cause of Jón's beginning that adventurous and roving life which henceforth was to be his lot.

¹ *Ibid.* st. 41ff.

² Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I. pp. 260-62.

³ *Ibid.* I. pp. 520-23; *Sögusafn Þjóðólfs* II. pp. 170-96.

⁴ *Fjölmiður* st. 46-47.

⁵ *Fjandafala*, or *Snæfjallavísur hinar fyrri* (Cod. Holm. 17, 8°; Bodl. Libr. MSS. Bor. 75, 4°); *Snæfjallavísur hinar síðari* (ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, in *Huld* V. pp. 22-31); and *Umbót*, or *Friðarhuggun* (Cod. Holm. 17, 8°).

In the summer of 1613 some Basque, or Spanish (as was the usual term in Iceland), whalers appeared off Iceland. One of these whaling vessels remained during the greater part of the summer in Steingrímsfjord, catching about seventeen whales. There was in the beginning some trouble between the crew of the ship and the native population, but peace had been established through the good offices of the rural dean of the district, so further quarrels were averted for the rest of the summer. Jón Guðmundsson, who was living in the neighborhood, maintains that he never saw any of the foreigners, hence he could not have given them any information about the country as he was later accused of doing. Next year twenty-six French and Spanish whalers started, it is said, for Icelandic waters, but their plans were somewhat changed because of an encounter with English whalers in which they got the worst of it, so that only ten came to Steingrímsfjord while the rest went farther north. Again there were troubles between the whalers and the Icelanders, apparently fear and suspicion on both sides, but Jón Guðmundsson blames principally the natives. Farther north, in the so-called Ketvogur, there were four vessels, and one of these had an English pilot. For some unknown reasons Jón was for a while held as a prisoner on this ship, until the captain finally released him. Three of the vessels left, but the largest tarried for some time with the purpose, it was rumored, of kidnapping young people, carrying them away, and converting them to Catholicism, but Jón seems to have prevented this so all ended tolerably well that summer.

It is, however, evident that these visits of the whalers caused considerable uneasiness in Iceland, because King Christian IV issued a letter, dated April 30, 1615, which was promulgated and confirmed by the Althing the same summer, declaring that the Spanish and other foreigners who plundered in Iceland might be killed with impunity.¹ If plundering had not actually taken place in the Westfjords, which Jón denies, robberies and disturbances had been made by foreigners in other parts of the country during the preceding summer, and they were doubtless the immediate cause of the royal letter.² In the early summer of 1615 sixteen whalers were lying off the Strandir, and there was an hostile encounter between the crews of two whaleboats and

¹ Magnús Ketilsson, *Forordninger* II. pp. 261-62; *Alþingisbækur Ísl.* IV. pp. 243-44.

² Finnur Jónsson, *Hist. Eccles. Isl.* III. pp. 80-81.

some natives in which the latter were worsted. Soon, however, all of the ships left for the northeast¹ except four which remained behind, as they maintained, with the permission of the authorities. Three of these chose Reykjarfjord as their station. The captains were Pedro de Aggvidre (or Arvirre), Stephan de Tellaria, and Martin de Villa Franca, who commanded the largest ship and is described as an accomplished man and good athlete. They secured eleven whales but lost an equal number. On the whole good relations seem to have prevailed between the natives and the whalers, except the crew of Martin's ship who were charged with being thievish, and there were other minor quarrels with them which apparently were amicably settled for the most part. Jón Guðmundsson frequently visited the whalers and was on very friendly terms with them, whatever language he may have used in talking with them. Just as the season had come to an end, and they were about to depart, a terrible gale arose carrying with it floating ice. All the three ships were driven on the rocks and crushed (Sept. 20). The crews of two of the ships went in small boats round Cape Horn, and finally settled for the winter at Patreksfjord; they were charged with having plundered here and there on their way thither, but they suffered no penalties for this. The third crew, that of Martin's ship, had a different experience. They also rounded Cape Horn in their three whaleboats, one of which went to Dýrafjord, robbing the people as they went until the natives got together, attacked them, and killed them all except one. The other two boats, under the command of Martin himself, went to Æðey, a small island far in the Ísafjarðardjúp, took up their quarters there, and continued whaling. No doubt they were troublesome neighbors in various ways, and they are reported to have visited the home of Ari Magnússon, the prefect

¹ Whalers usually hunted during the earlier part of the summer (May and June) in the western part of the ocean, round Iceland and Jan Mayen, going towards the east and northeast, Spitsbergen and surrounding seas, in July and August, because as the season advanced the whales went farther east. This was, at least, the general practice in Frederick Martin's time, ca. 1670 (cf. Conway, *No man's land*, p. 214), and it seems to have been the same at the time we are speaking of, because Jón says in *Fjölmiður*, st. 85: Til Ryssa austur / rásuðu hinir / eftir vanda / að afla hvalveiða.—Of course, sometimes the reverse took place, as in 1632 when the Basques (Vrolicq) were driven away from Spitsbergen by the other whalers and went to Iceland (Conway, *op. cit.* p. 167).

of the district, and even to have made threats against him. Presently he called men together, made an attack upon the whalers' quarters, and slew them all. At a following inquest a jury decided that they had deserved their fate, and thus exonerated the slayers.¹ But there were those who thought that undue severity had been shown, and condemned the slayings. Among these was Jón Guðmundsson.

It is difficult to estimate Jón's position in this affair as well as his relations with the whalers in general. We have from his own pen an account of those events in which he exhibits no undue partiality towards the whalers nor unfairness towards the authorities, although he makes a better case for the Spaniards than others who have written on the subject and who paint the whalers in the darkest colors.² That the whalers generally were a rough crowd may be taken for granted, because we know from other sources that they stopped at nothing when they met with opposition, or did not get what they wanted.³ In this particular case, there doubtless were serious provocations on the part of the whalers, to which was added excessive suspicion on the part of the natives, especially as they did not understand each others' language, and that explains, if it does not excuse, the very severe punishment inflicted upon the foreigners for their transgressions. But merely Jón's disapproval or censure of this could hardly have made it necessary for him to leave the district. Popular opinion was probably hostile to him in advance on account of his intimacy with the strangers, and people suspected him of having given them advice or hints as to where to look for plunder or gain. It would be futile at this time to attempt to prove or disprove that suspicion or charge against him, although one feels disinclined to believe it. That he frequented their company is certain; we have his own words for that, and he expresses often great fondness for some of them, like the French pilot Pierre (Pétur), and at least one of his

¹ *Alþingisbækur Ísl.* IV. pp. 309–23.

² Jón's account (*Dráp Spánverja í Æðey*) is printed in *Fjallkonan* IX. 1892, Nos. 26–28, 31–32, 34, 37–38. Cf. *Fjölmóður* st. 48–158.—See Ólafur Davíðsson's article in *Tímarit h. Ísl. Bmf.* XVI. pp. 88–163 (*Víg Spánverja á Vest-fjörðum 1615 og 'Spönsku vísur' eptir séra Ólaf á Söndum*).

³ As an example of this may be mentioned how Basque whalers on account of some quarrels with the Dutch destroyed entirely the Dutch station in Jan Mayen 1632 (cf. Sir M. Conway, *No man's land*, p. 167, 169).

references to them indicates that they confided in him.¹ But it was perfectly natural that he was attracted to them; his curiosity urged him to seek information about them and from them; he possibly felt a certain pride in being able to communicate with them, which the average man could not do as well as he; and it is not excluded that by his friendship with them he secured some material, though perfectly legitimate, profit. Further, his Catholic sympathies may have made him look upon them as in a sense co-religionists. A certain spirit of opposition against authority which is noticeable in his writings probably made him go further than was prudent in criticizing the treatment of the whalers. Add to this his reputation as a magician, and the general belief that among the strangers Martin, at least, possessed similar powers, and we can easily understand that the place under those circumstances would be uncomfortable for Jón, and that he saw his advantage in leaving it.

Fearing, as he says, that he would share the fate of the Spanish, Jón left suddenly his home and family in the middle of the winter. He repaired to Snæfellsnes, where much frequented fishing stations were in those days, and tried to get on one of the English vessels fishing off the coast,² but none dared to receive him, because, as he informs us, every one was afraid of Ari Magnússon and his machinations. This does not sound very credible. Even if Jón suspected Ari of practicing witchcraft, it is not likely that foreign fishermen knew of this or feared it. That Jón thus sought to leave the country might be interpreted as a confession of guilt or as due to an extreme fear of his enemies. The latter was probably the case, since from his autobiography it is evident that he was afflicted with persecution mania, and suffered agonies, blaming all his sufferings on Ari.³ One of the leading men of the district⁴ took him under his protection, and in his company Jón went to the Althing to face his accusers. What exactly was the nature of the charges made against him, I have not been able to ascertain; whatever they were, they came to

¹ Cf. the incident told in *Tíðfordrif* regarding the stone Echites and the wives of two of the whalers (AM. 727, 4^o, f. 4b).

² It was common in those days that convicts or fugitives from justice escaped to England in fishing vessels.

³ *Fjölmiður* st. 177ff.—The popular tradition gives a different version of the ghosts which passed between Ari and Jón, see *Sögusafn Þjóðólfs* II. pp. 174-75.

⁴ Steindór Gíslason (cf. Bogi Benediktsson, *Sýslumannæfir* III. pp. 96-106).

naught. His condition, however, aroused the pity of some prominent men who tried to help him, such as Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson of Hólar, Ari's father-in-law. He gave Jón's son, Guðmundur, a place as a pupil in the Cathedral School to educate him for the ministry. Jón, apparently, returned to Snæfellsnes, and remained in Rif for several years, living, as he says, principally on charity. He seems to have had several friends who aided him, but he was also always making enemies. This time it was a wicked sorcerer (Ormur of Knerri) who gave him no peace. His past likewise was scrutinized. It was commonly rumored that Jón kept a kind of school where he gave young fishermen instruction in occult subjects, if not actually in witchcraft. The rural dean of the district, Rev. Guðmundur Einarsson of Staðastaður, therefore deemed it necessary to expose Jón and refute his doctrines. He wrote a lengthy treatise which was entitled *Hugrás*; it was directed against witchcraft in general, and is quite an interesting work for its time.¹ The second part of it is entirely devoted to Jón and his writings, but the errors he finds in them do not seem to be of such an awfully dangerous character. The good parson finds especially reprehensible such statements as these: that one tenth part of the angels had served Lucifer in the beginning; that the devils are as numerous as the small particles seen in the rays of the sun, or as drops in nine days' rain; that the elves are descendants of Adam, but have neither mother nor soul, that they are the children of God, and understand everything, but are unable to evade the wiles of the devil, and so on. But this was considered serious at that time, and the attack made Jón's position more difficult; it added greatly to his other troubles. So finally he found the place unsafe, and again hurried away, this time to Akranes, where he found shelter for a while with a prominent man.² There was always some one to help Jón in his distress, which indicates that he must have had some good qualities which attracted people. There he suffered, as usual, from hallucinations, and never was he left in peace by the ghosts which his enemies con-

¹ The title is 'In versutias serpentis recti et tortuosi, það er lítil hugrás yfir svik og vélræði djöfulsins, etc. 1627.' There are several MSS. of it. The ones I have consulted are Ny kgl. Sml. 1848 c-d. 4°. Cf. Þorv. Thoroddsson, *Landfræðissaga* II. pp. 43-50.

² Árni Gíslason at Ytri-Hólmur, brother of Steindór (cf. Bogi Benediktsson, *op. cit.* III. p. 419f.).

stantly sent to torment him. His path had so far been sufficiently thorny, yet he was now facing the most trying period of his life.

The governor-generals of Iceland were in those days always Danish, and most of them resided there only for a short space of time, or visited the country occasionally during the summer. In their absence they had their representatives in the country, and these were often men of a rather questionable character. Holger Rosenkrantz was at that time governor-general (1620–33), and his representative for the last six or seven years of his term of office was Ólafur Pétursson¹ a man of Danish birth, energetic and ambitious, and, as it appeared later, a real scoundrel. He became Jón's bitterest enemy and most relentless persecutor. Guðmundur Jónsson had by this time been ordained as minister, and had married a maid of Ólafur's household. Shortly afterwards he charged the latter with having sought improper relations with his wife, and, on being repulsed, with avenging himself by making the woman sick by means of witchcraft. Ólafur immediately brought a countercharge for witchcraft not only against Guðmundur but also against his father. Guðmundur was brought before a court which sentenced him to forfeiture of his priestly office. Jón was captured, brought to Bessastaðir, the seat of the governor-general, and accused of unlawful occult practices. A court was held there Aug. 1, 1631, composed of six ecclesiastics and six laymen. Before the court was laid a written pamphlet, entitled *Bót eður viðsiá við illu ákasti* (Remedy or caution against evil attack), upon which the charge was based, and of which Jón acknowledged the authorship. The pamphlet which now seemingly is lost, was divided into thirty sections 'each having its special characters, figures, paintings, and alphabet together with multifarious misuse of God's words which were attached thereto, and which in no way can be judged proper for a Christian thus to use.' The clergy having decided that Jón had committed blasphemy which must not pass unpunished, the laymen decided that according to law of the land he had forfeited his property and should be exiled from the realm.² The sentence was principally based upon a Danish royal letter of 1617 which never had been promulgated in Iceland, and hence was not the law of the land. That Jón's life was spared was doubt-

¹ See about him *Safn til sögu Ísl.* II. pp. 736–38.—Jón applies various nicknames to him, such as Náttúlfur; sá falski; etc.

² The document is found in AM. 381 fol.

less because there was no evidence showing that he had done any one harm with his practices, or had intended to do so.

This was a severe blow to him. He was homeless and helpless, wandering from place to place, leading a pitiful existence, as few dared to give much aid or comfort to an outlaw. He reached the Eastfjords, and there two very prominent men, Bjarni Oddsson of Bustarfell and Rev. Ólafur Einarsson of Kirkjubær, the hymnologist, showed him friendliness, although they were unable to bring about any change in his situation, his outlawry having been publicly announced at the Althing in 1635. For some time he was actually compelled to live alone on a deserted island, and one can imagine what a terrible plight that was for a man of his type, as to the physical sufferings were added the imaginary troubles of being persecuted by evil spirits. In the summer of 1636 he finally succeeded in getting passage in a merchant vessel to Copenhagen, whither his son had preceded him, seeking a revision of his own case. Here father and son remained during the following winter, however in no happy circumstances. Jón was kept in prison for some time, and he charges that attempts were made to kill him by poison. Dr. Ole Worm heard of his case, and found him well versed in many things, especially having considerable knowledge of the runes.¹ It was doubtless through Worm's efforts that Christian Friis, the chancellor, took the case under consideration which led to Pros Mundt, the governor-general, being directed by a royal letter of May 14, 1637, to appoint at the next session of the Althing a court to pass on the case. In the meantime Jón and his son returned to Iceland in the spring. Jón mentions in his autobiography that although the crew of the merchant vessel in which he returned were friendly to him, he suspected them of being capable of leaving him in the ocean, that is, presumably, throwing him over board. He reached Hafnarfjord and was kept in chains at Bessastaðir until the Althing convened, when he was brought to Thingvellir to face his judges. Jón gives himself a pathetic description of the whole performance.² The court consisted of the two bishops and the two lawmen and besides them ten clergymen and ten laymen, and they confirmed the sentence of 1631. But now an interesting question arose.

¹ Jón himself does not mention Worm, but Jón Halldórsson, Bp. Finnur, and Espólin say that he helped Jón.

² *Fjölmóður*, st. 298ff.

Jón was absolutely destitute and could not pay for or even secure on any terms passage abroad, and there was no one to pay for carrying out the sentence. Hence it was agreed upon by the authorities, that he should have a place of retreat in the East-fjords, and there he consequently lived for the rest of his days. Also his son was later rehabilitated and given a living in the same part of the country. It is in this last period of Jón's life that most of his works were written, or probably until 1649, for there is no evidence that he wrote anything after that date. For the last years of his life, Jón *ære dirutus, verius quam rude donatus, sibi et aliis inutilis in angulo consenuit* as Bishop Brynjólfur expresses it in a letter to Ole Worm.¹ He died in 1658 at the age of eighty-four. His greatest benefactors proved to be Brynjólfur Sveinsson who had become bishop of Skálholt in 1639, and Jón gratefully acknowledges this in his dedication of the *Tíðfordrif* to the bishop,² and in his autobiography, without mentioning the name, he compares the bishop to the sun breaking through the dark and threatening clouds. The sympathy and friendliness of such a man as Bishop Brynjólfur was sufficient to shield Jón from further persecutions.

It is clear that Jón did not enjoy a good reputation during his lifetime; this is shown not only by the trials he was subjected to, but also by the testimony of some of his contemporaries, like Björn of Skarðsá, the annalist.³ And most of the later writers have accepted this view of him. I am, however, certain that in his case is applicable the Italian saying that *il diavolo non è tanto nero, quanto è dipinto*. It is easy to see how he acquired this evil repute. That he was generally believed to possess magical powers and have communion with supernatural beings was sufficient to make people view him askance. Nor did he in the least try to discourage that belief, as his writings show. He firmly believed in this himself, and in his opinion the knowledge and practice of witchcraft was not anything to be ashamed of; on the contrary, it was an accomplishment of which one should be proud; it was like being skilled in arms, and only when it was used for evil purposes should it be punishable; he had a great admiration for his distant relative, Staðarhóls-Páll, who, as he intimates, was well versed in those matters and expressed a

¹ Olai Wormii *Epistolæ* II. p. 1050.

² 'mijnum Híalparmanne og Herra.'—Cf. *Fjölmóður*, st. 320.

³ *Annálar* 1774, p. 261f.

similar opinion regarding them.¹ To this principle Jón seems also to have adhered, because it was never publicly charged against him, that he had used his powers to harm people. Another reason for his unpopularity was his unconcealed leaning towards Catholicism. The reformers of the faith had taught the people to look upon the pope as an enemy of mankind, the pope and the Turks frequently being grouped together, and people fervently prayed to be saved from both.² But Jón imbibed Catholic sympathies in his youth, probably from his maternal grandfather, Rev. Indriði Ámundason, who is reported to have been unfrocked on account of his persistence in popery.³ That Jón wrote anything against Lutheranism, as Björn of Skarðsá intimates, there is no evidence of, beyond what he says on the matter in his autobiographical poem, and various sly and sarcastic remarks here and there in his other writings. Besides, his personality and manners were probably not of the kind to induce confidence or attract people in general. He showed the conceit of the autodidact toward the ignorant crowd, and his biting, contemptuous, and frequently obscure utterances were naturally resented, and at times may have been construed as threats. His suspicion of others was also very pronounced. His enemies he hated wholeheartedly, nor can one blame him much for that, considering what he suffered at their hands. Towards his benefactors, however, he was appreciative, grateful, and humble, and it is no slight indication of his worth that among them were some of the most prominent men of his times.

His natural gifts were good, but he received no schooling. As he himself informs us he learned to read on a codex which had been carried to his district from the Skálholt Cathedral, when its library was destroyed or dispersed at the introduction of the Reformation.⁴ Yet there were many who warned him not to delve too deeply into such popish books.⁵ Foreign languages, such as German and Danish, he apparently learned by himself,

¹ *Safn til sögu Ísl.* III. p. 704, 705-06.

² *Tyrkjaránið á Ísl.* 1627, p. xvi.

³ *Safn til sögu Ísl.* III. p. 708.

⁴ 'Pegar röckurz býsnunum með ráne kyrkiunnar, hennar silfurz og dýrgripa rigndi yfir Skálholt, og bækur foreiddar, hafdi ein boriz i mijna sueit. Á hana lærði eg ungur' (*Tfdr.*).

⁵ 'Var einginn til mig ad fræða, enn allmarger ad banna og forbióða papiskar bækur ad haffa eda j þeim nockud ad huglejða, þar þó margt j flaut' (*Tfdr.*).

and although he disclaims any knowledge of Latin it is noticeable that quotations in this language given in his writings are as a rule correct. Neither in his youth nor later did he probably possess many books. But his involuntary, and usually most distressful, wanderings made him acquainted with many things which he never would have seen or heard of, if he had remained peacefully on his little farm in the Westfjords. But those travels which to many others would have been sheer calamity, became instructive to him because of his thirst for knowledge. He was always observing things and seeking information from those he met, be they natives or foreigners. And he was constantly on the lookout for books, manuscripts, and documents, and made use of these according to his ability. He mentions them in his writings, and it is interesting from these references to glean what books he knew or where he found them. For those days he seems to have been unusually well acquainted with the old Icelandic literature. He knew many of the Icelandic family sagas, the mythical-heroic sagas, the *Hauksbók*,¹ the *Konungs skuggsjá* or *Speculum regale*, the *Rómverja sögur*, Bishop Jón Halldórsson's *Ævintýri*, and he seems to have been especially familiar with the sagas of the Apostles and the Saints, to which he refers very frequently; these appealed to him on account of his religious inclinations.² In his youth he saw Björn Jórsalafari's book of travels (*Reisubók*, as he calls it), which now unfortunately is lost.

Even more interesting is the meagre information we gather from his writings regarding foreign books which he says he has drawn upon or seen in various parts of Iceland. Thus he saw in

¹ It has been supposed that he borrowed it through Bp. Brynjólfur (*Hauksbók*, 1892-96, p. viii), but he might have seen it before in the Westfjords, and therefore the report that it was owned by the farmer at Skálavík, may be true. Jón would hardly have borrowed it from Ari Magnússon, if he was the owner of it, as Arngrímur Jónsson seems to indicate.

² He had seen the manuscript found at Skarð of the sagas of the Apostles (Codex Skardensis; cf. *Arkiv f. nord. filol.* VIII. pp. 238-45). He also mentions Basilus saga (*Tfdr.*) which he may have known complete, and Niðurstignings saga, or the Gospel of Nicodemus, (*Tfdr.*), but the passage in which the latter is named, is a quotation from an earlier MS. (cf. *Thómas saga erkbiskups* II. 1883, p. lviii).—In Cod. Holm. 38 fol. is a reference to Barlaams saga as follows (f. 94a): 'Nú set eg hier til sýnis og gamans saman ad bera hægri handar og um loptligar verur, uppteiknad úr gamalli bók, sem kom frá Hácone Noregskonge, og hann úr latínu tók ásamt med sögu af Barlaam og Jósaphat, hveria eg sá á bók stórré á Saudafelli í Dölum, er B. Ólafur Hannesson átti.'

Snóksdal what he calls the large chronicle of Livonia (*sá stóra lifflendiska Kronika*) which can hardly be any other than Balt-hasar Russow's *Chronica der Provintz Lyfflandt* (Rostock 1578, and two editions of Bart 1584).¹ Unfortunately his references to such books are generally so vague that it is impossible in most cases to identify them, as, for instance, the old book of Lübeck which he says was ascribed to King Alexander Salomons-son,² and various German books on plants and stones, which will be mentioned below. He also mentions Giovanni Battista Prato, Olaus Magnus, Petrarch, and others, but that is not sufficient evidence for his having seen or consulted their works, or that editions of them necessarily were to be found in Iceland in his days. He apparently knew *Reineke Voss*, and of this poem copies probably existed in Iceland.³

But most interesting, if most melancholy, is his reference to book-fires in Iceland, of which we know nothing from other sources. His account is, however, both involved and brief. From it so much seems certain that during the years 1623–24, when Sigurður Jónsson was minister of Helgafell, two or three bonfires were made of books and other things which had belonged to the famous cloister and church of that place. His predecessors had apparently refrained from disturbing these, and, if our inference is correct, Christian Villadsen, the first Lutheran minister of the place, had even made use of them.⁴ Of course, people

¹ It is divided into four sections, each called a 'deel der Lyfflendischen Chronica,' and from this may be taken the title Jón uses (*Tdfr.*). The other work which might come into consideration is Salomon Henning's *Lifflendische-churlendische Chronica*, Leipzig 1594, to which David Chytræus, the German divine who had Icelandic connections, wrote a preface, but it is less likely. Thomas Horner's *Livonia historia* (Königsberg 1551) is excluded because of the title.

² 'Til Lübek þrykta sá ec í svip bók eina forgamla med þann fyrsta stíl, ei þó nema eina stund hiá einum jardfróðum presti. Alexander kongur Salomonisson skyldi hennar fyrsti forsmidur verid hafa, oc sú bók var til fróðleiks um það hulda jardarinnar og sá prestur kalladi þann Psalm Davids "Domini est terra" ad vera jardarinnar, öll hennar fylling, sagdi hann opt etc.' (Cod. Holm. 38 fol., ff. 646–65a.). Unfortunately I have not been able to consult any works on early printing at Lübeck.

³ 'Grijmbardurinn eda Grewinchj uppá þysku j Reineke Wosse' (*Tdfr.*).— See AM. 58, 8°, ff. 140–201 (a commentary to the Danish translation of the poem).

⁴ 'En áður en Helgafellsbækur voru brendar ásamt því öðru gömlu kirk-jurusli á tveimur stórum edur þremur eldum, fyr en sá sami prestur fórst í

often were careless about old books and codices, and thus caused their ruin, but that these actually were committed to the flames, was certainly rare in Iceland; this, at least, is the only instance on record.

Jón Guðmundsson was descended from a notable poet, Svartur Þórðarson, the author of the *Skaufhalabálkur*,¹ and he can himself be classed among the best poets of his age, but not many poems from his pen have been preserved. He leaped into fame as a poet of magic powers (*kraptaskáld*) through his three poems directed against the ghost of Snæfjallaströnd which have been mentioned above. His poem on the Áradalur (*Áradalsóður*) was popular in Iceland, and back to it go all the stories about this alleged dale; he also wrote some dance songs, poems on birds, and a few other pieces.² By far the most important of his poetical works is the *Fjölmoður*, his autobiography in verse, which has often been referred to above. It is a long poem, divided into three parts, the introduction (*Forspjall*, 20 st.), the biography proper (301 st.), and 'the tail' (*Restans eða rófan*, 72 st.). It is said to have been written in 1649, in any case it was written during that decade. He tells his life pretty well, and certain portions of it are very interesting, but he is not always clear in his narrative; his sentences are involved and it is frequently difficult to make out exactly what he means. But he certainly does not spare his enemies. The most noteworthy part of the poem is perhaps 'the tail,' where the poet gives his opinions of the period, views his own position in society, and contemplates vatninu, þá máttu [mátti], einkum hvör latínu skildi, menn [mann] þar margt fáheyrt [og fróðlegt] finna, og fræði gömul sjá. Sá gamli Sr. Christian danski, sem þar var leingi, þótti óbernskur, en nú er alt íaleyding komid og eirna [mest og] helst það sem nokkud hnígur að því sem þykir gamalkent.' (Cod. Holm. 38 fol., f. 97ab; the variants in brackets from Ny kgl. Sml. 1885b, 4°, p. 23.)—Jón Þorkelsson (*Diðtn. þaa Isl.* p. 13) has identified S. J. as the offending minister.

¹ *Safn til sögu Ísl.* III. pp. 712–13. Cf. *Arkiv f. nord. filol.* XV. pp. 240–46.

² 'Áradalsóður,' ed. by Ólafur Davíðsson, in *Huld* IV. pp. 53–69 (cf. Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* II. pp. 184–89); 'Fuglakvæði' (by Þorleifur Þórðarson and J. G.), in *Ísl. þulur* pp. 335–38; 'Samtal fugla,' *ibid.* pp. 341–46; poems from *Tfdr.*, *ibid.* pp. 375–76; dance songs (*vikivakar*), in *Ísl. vikivakar*, pp. 233–35, 312.—Unprinted: 'Kappavísur' (Ny kgl. Sml. 1894, 4°); 'Eitt kvæðiskorn um samtal örnsu og krumma' (AM. 152, 8°); 'Ármanns rímur' (AM. 128, 8°). Hálfð. Einarsson mentions also (*Sciagr.* p. 82) 'Rímur af Fertram og Plató' (now unknown) and 'Kötludraumur,' but this last is not by Jón (cf. *Ísl. þulur* p. 16).

what he might have been, if he had not been a victim of persecution. He criticizes both the freedom and the intolerance of the age,—the freedom which shows itself in disregarding and breaking away from the traditions and beliefs of the ancestors and which has caused deplorable quarrels between individuals and destructive wars between nations, and the intolerance towards and persecution of those who adhered to the old and traditional, and who were unwilling to accept the new doctrines. It is especially here that his opposition to Lutheranism appears most clearly, and he criticizes some of its teachings like that of salvation by faith alone. No other writer of that century ventured to say what Jón has said here, so successful had the leaders of the Reformation been in breaking down all opposition and in stifling free speech.

In connection with Jón's poetical writings it may be mentioned, that a mock prophecy known as *Krukksþá* is generally ascribed to him. It seems to have been written about 1650 by a man of Catholic tendencies and an admirer of Bishop Brynjólfur, but beyond that there is nothing which points to Jón as the author of it; the style is noticeably different from his. The principal argument in favor of his authorship has been that the oldest manuscript of it, AM. 409a, 4^o, was in his handwriting. This, however, is not the case; the writing is different from that of other manuscripts which with certainty can be considered as written by him. For this and other reasons which I do not care to state here, I think that the *Krukksþá* is not by him.¹

Jón's name has always been connected with the belief in elves and mountain folk. He pretended to have an intimate knowledge of the former, and has described them in his works.² According to him the elves were physically and mentally very like human beings, and were really of the same family, but they did not have an immortal soul, and hence were unable to protect themselves against the treacheries of the devil.³ This was

¹ *Krukksþá* was ed. by J. Jónsson and Jón Borgfirðingur and printed separately, Reykjavík 1884, 12^o. pp. viii, 30.—A critical ed. in Jón Þorkelsson, *Þjóðsögur*, etc., pp. 213–27.

² Principally in *Tíðfordrif* and his commentary on the Snorra Edda. The portions on the elves are sometimes found separately (e. g. Kall 616, fol.; cf. also Árni Magnússon, *Private Brevveksling*, 1920, p. 679).

³ I think Jón Árnason (*Ísl. þjóðs.* I. p. 2) has misunderstood J. G. as to the mental faculties of the elves; the latter does not say that they are without intelligence, but without an immortal soul.

looked upon as a heresy at that time as has been mentioned above. He grouped the elves in three classes according to their habitations, and he tells several stories about them, among which is the excellent tale about the *Marbendill* who really is a water elf.¹ The mountain folk, as Jón conceived them, in a way are related to the elves but their kinship to men is closer. They are in fact descendants of men who withdrew from human society and chose seclusion in some hidden mountain valleys, to enjoy communion with nature, and they have supernatural powers by which they can deceive those who invade their domain, dense fog apparently being most commonly used by them to hide their dwellings, and they seem in that way to be masters of the weather. They have adhered to the simple and frugal life of their ancestors, as well as preserved their faith, and they dislike Christians and their worship, but they do not ordinarily annoy or attack the latter unless there is some provocation on their part. They frequently employ Christians for work on their farms and pay well for such services, and like the elves they reward any good turn generously. Their valleys have a good climate, and are described as very fertile, having excellent pastures, and their sheep and horses are of a superior quality. One gets, however, the impression that the life is dull there and the discipline very severe. Jón has described this in his poem on Áradalur, mentioned above, and in an essay entitled *Litíð ágríp um hulin pláss og yfirskeygða dali á Íslandi* (A little sketch of hidden places and overshadowed dales in Icel.).² But these mountain folk have often been confused with real outlaws (*útilegumenn*) or fugitives from justice who lived up in the mountains and maintained themselves by robberies. Jón's mountain folk were different from them; the origin of the former goes back to the colonization period, and probably the belief is traceable to pagan superstition about protective spirits and mountain trolls.

While the pamphlet on miraculous cures and magical preventives which was the cause of Jón's conviction seems to be lost,

¹ Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I. pp. 132–33.

² Cod. Holm. chart. 64 fol., ff. 130ab, 271a–280b.—This is one essay, and not two as Guðbr. Vigfússon assumes (*Ísl. þjóðs.* I. p. xv) because the two parts are separated in the codex, but the catchword shows that they belong together, the binder having separated them. In Gödel's catalogue the list of the contents of this codex is in places misleading.

another book on medicine from his pen has been preserved. The original of it, somewhat defective, is to be found in the National Library, Reykjavík (JS. 401, 4^o),¹ and a complete copy is included in Cod. Holm. 64, fol. This book was written at the request of Bishop Brynjólfur, and deals chiefly with the medical properties of plants, or at least it was the author's intention to cover that when he started, as the title shows, but he deviated soon from his original plan and included all sorts of other remedies which certainly are often far worse than the diseases. But probably the content is largely drawn from other books, both native and foreign, and very few cures really invented by the writer, although he doubtless had tried many of the prescriptions, since he frequently adds *probatum est*, and the like. He does not, however, mention here his sources, but in the *Tíðfordrif* he mentions fragments of a medical book by Bishop Jón Halldórsson of Skálholt (1322–39) which he saw in his youth,² and which no more exists; he mentions there also several foreign books on plants and stones, but his statements about them are too general to make any identification possible.³ Among Icelandic manuscripts of the later centuries there are numerous works on medicine, both anonymous and ascribed to certain authors, but none of them have as yet been examined or

¹ The title is as follows: 'Wm nockrar Grasa náttúrur, Probatæ velflestar, og þeirra hluta, sem hier j landi mega fást til lækninga og linunar manna meina, saman skrifat af Jo. G. S. Eptir forlagi og breslegri ávijsan þess Hugliufa Heidurs Herra M. B. S. S. jeg veykur kall viliann syne.'

² 'Þessi Jón Halldórsson skyldi og verid hafa hinn besti læknir þann tíjma og ad þeckia hier urter og grös, og epter þeim hans bæklingum skyldi adrir riettaz. Úr einum forgömlum og fornskrifudum bæklingi af hans skrifadi eg nú þann gamla Hypocratem i það kver mitt, sem eg kann ecki aptur ad fá af Árna lögmanne, sem jeg hef leingi umstagað. Þar var og enn annar þartur eda bálkur af vorra daga lækniingzbókum samanskrifadur' (*Tfðr.*).

³ 'Lybskar gamlar og ij. Franckfortiskar nýar farveradar grasabækur sá jeg á Skardi fordum og hef ecki af þeim meira' (*Tfðr.*).—'Sem Magnús bóndi Jónsson [i.e. Magnús prúði] bió nordur í Skridu, fadir þeirra Magnússona, átti hann þá gömlu lybsku grasabók. Þar hefur hann skrifad á spatiunne fyrer utann grasid [Plantago]: Petta gras vex i stöðlinum hiá Skridu. Sijdar kom hún i Flatey, þá skeinkt Dada B. á Skardi til skiemtunar; þá fieck hana S. Jón Sigmundsson; hann þá vor prestur og liedi mier hana [probably J. S. of Kjalarnesþing, ca. 1620–30]. Náttúlfurinn Ólafur ranglāti á Bessastöðum fieck hana til lánz, sem eg var þar. Aptur náði prestur henni um sijdir og sagdi hún væri sydra. Í þeirri bók var uppmýndud Mandragora edur Alrun karlkynz med hári og skeggi. Hennar gras edur hnappstöng var mier sýnd í Borgarfirdi stóra þar vestur. Hún hiellt margtt um steina' (*Tfðr.*).

compared, and so long as that has not been done it is impossible to say what original contributions each of them contains; and such is the case with this work by Jón.¹ The Stockholm codex has as a kind of introduction an essay of several pages which is not to be found in the original, and probably forms a separate work of a later date.² It deals exclusively with Icelandic plants, chiefly with their healing qualities; in some cases it gives, however, description of the plant and names the places where it grows, and is thus considerably fuller in its treatment of plants than the medical book itself. I have printed a few selections from this essay in the appendix below, because it shows well Jón's methods and his qualifications as a naturalist. The essay itself supplies the evidence of Jón's authorship, but I know no other copy of it. Parts of it I have, however, found incorporated in various later treatises on plants, with omissions or additions.³

In 1641 Jón made a copy of the Snorra Edda with explanations and observations of his own. It is preserved in Cod. Holm. chart. 38 fol.⁴ In his notes to the text, as well as in the additional matter placed at the end, he wanders often far away from the subject before him, so the work bears everywhere marks of his lack of criticism and his credulity, but it is by no means devoid of interest, because things are interspersed there which are of interest to the folklorist as well as occasionally to the historian, such as the reference, quoted above, to the book-fires at Helgafell. It also throws light on Jón's geographical ideas which were indeed very confused.

In his seventieth year Jón wrote another work at the suggestion of Bishop Brynjólfur which he called *Tíðfordríf* (Pastime) and which he dedicated to the bishop. It has been preserved in

¹ Of Jón's contemporaries Rev. Oddur Oddsson (d. 1649) of Reynivellir, was supposed to know most about medicine. In *Týðr* Jón mentions him thus: 'Par við hröck ecki vízka Oddz vors gamla,' and 'Hvad um grös og urter til lækninga vídvíjkur, veit Sunnlendingafírdungur, og sá sig þeckir ecki Reynivalla Oddur sá rangturnadi með síjnum boga.' Probably outbursts of professional jealousy!

² The title is 'Skrif Jóns Guðmundssonar Málara . . . hlióðande um þau grös og urter, sem vaxa í Íslandi og þeirra dygdir og náttúru, sem hann seigist sjálfur reynt og forsókt hafa.'

³ Thus, for instance, in Thott 289, 8°.

⁴ The title is: 'Hier byriar Samantektir um Skilning á Eddu.'

the original (Am. 727, 4°),¹ and is a bewildering conglomerate of all sorts of things, treating first at length of good and bad spirits and other secrets of nature, precious stones,² plants, and birds, of geography, abode of elves (*Álfheimar*), Christian legends, explanation of words and names, giving extracts from annals, a few poems, and various other things. This is gathered both from native and foreign sources, the portions about spirits, stones, and secrets of nature being mostly of foreign origin, drawn as it seems from German books. There is a good deal of interesting information to be found there, but the exposition is often so lengthy and obscure, the sentences so involved and queer that it is difficult to get at the meaning. There are various copies of the *Tíðfordríf*, and some of them, like Ny kgl. Sml. 76, fol., and Cod. Holm. 64, fol., contain a section entitled *Um Írland hið góða* which is not to be found in the original, but which doubtless is by Jón. It does not, however, deal with Ireland only, but includes also some annalistic extracts regarding Greenland and Iceland, chiefly concerning the Skarð family; it is not of any importance. Cod. Holm. 64 fol. contains only some extracts from the *Tíðfordríf* which probably were not copied from the original.

The last prose work which we know from Jón's pen is his compendium of Hermann Fabronius' History of the World, which is preserved in his own writing in AM. 201, 8°.³ It was written in 1647, the merest sketch of what is found in the original German work,⁴ and is of very little consequence. In the case of

¹ 'Tíðfordríf Edur Lijtid Annáls kuer Sitt af huoríu til Sýnis Viliann ad Byrta til Samans teiknad af mior Jone Gudmundssyne ætatis 70. Anno Dni. 1644.'

² Jón believed firmly in the various properties of precious stones of all kinds and dwells on them at length. His was a century when the use of stones in medicine was very popular, and when these properties of their were eagerly discussed, leading finally to the discontinuance of the practice.—Cf. Axel Garboe, *Kulturhistoriske Studier over Ædelstene med særligt Henblik paa det 17. Aarhundrede*. København 1915.

³ 'Heims Historia Summerud Af Hermanne Fabronio Pyskum Poeta til Eschwege J Landi Hessen edur Kattarolboga, af fornkonige þeirra Catte. Enn þryckt til Schmalkalden Anno domini 1612. Enn nu sijdar enn meir kortat og vtdreigit af Jone Gudmundssyne, á því áre hans alldurs 73, j Dalakoti á Vtmannasueit Anno d. 1647.'

⁴ I have only seen the edition of Schmalkalden 1627 (*Geographica Historica, Neue Summarische Welt-Historia*, etc.), a work of nearly 700 pp. in 4°.—Fabronius (1570–1634) knew the works of Arngrímur Jónsson, but he depended also upon other less reliable sources.

Iceland Jón has, of course, left out all the fabulous tales which Fabronius gives about it, such as the Icelanders playing chess in bed for many days without rising, or that they make houses of whalebones, as well as stories about monster whales, and enumeration of various islands around Iceland. There is some additional matter on China ¹ and other things which are taken from different sources.

The most important of Jón's writings, at least of his prose works, is the Natural History of Iceland (*Um Íslands aðskiljanlegar náttúrur*) which here appears in print for the first time. It is not possible to determinate exactly its date; it was written after 1637, but a *terminus ad quem* can not be fixed with certainty. Presumably it was written some time during the years 1640–44. Only a fragment of the original exists now, in the National Library, Reykjavík, JS. 401, 4° (A), but a great many copies of it are to be found, made during the subsequent centuries. Of these I have used the following: Cod. Holm. chart. 64 fol (B), written by Jón Eggertsson in the latter half of the seventeenth century; JS. 76, 8° (C), and JS. 86, 8° (c), the former of the 17th century, the latter of the early 18th cent., and being seemingly a copy of the former; ÍBf. 171, 4° (D), 18th cent., and Ny kgl. Sml. 1840, 4° (d), 18th cent., the text of these two practically identical, various changes being made and the spelling modernized, hence I have referred to them only occasionally. B and C do not differ much except as to the arrangement of some paragraphs, especially those dealing with clay and metals. In B these are somewhat fuller and found at the end of the first section, while in C, and for that matter in practically all copies except B, they are found in the final section where, in conformity with the heading, they unquestionably belong, and in the edition I have placed them there. I have, of course, followed the original so far as it goes, but otherwise based the text on B and C, giving only variants of some importance. In the portions printed from the original its orthography is observed, except the irregular capitalization, while in the other portions the orthography of B is followed. This causes some inconsistency in the spelling of the edition. However, the difference is not great, consisting chiefly in *t* being used in the

¹ Hálfð. Einarsson (*Sciagr.* p. 137) says that the matter about China is drawn from the works of Martini de Herrada, etc. I have not been able to verify that.

original where B uses *d* in the ending of words (past participles, adjectives, postpositive article, *þat*, *at*, etc.), but even this rule is not carried out in the original without exceptions (and in other of Jón's originals the *t*-rule is not ordinarily followed). The original uses on the other hand *ij* or *j* pretty consistently for *i* (except in *þvi*), where B uses generally *i*, and I have consequently observed that throughout the edition. In the original *ā* usually stand for *á*, *ō* for *ó*, and *ō* for *ö*, but I have not thought it necessary to imitate that; of course, the dots over these vowels are often missing, but I have disregarded that, except in a few cases where the dots never appear over the vowel in certain words (as e.g. *almir*). In end syllables *i* and *e* are used indiscriminately. I did not like to print the text in wholly modernized spelling, and preferred to adopt the method I have now explained, although it leads to inconsistencies and is open to criticism. It must be remembered that no seventeenth century writer is consistent as to spelling.

The fragment of the original contains several pictures, especially of whales, and I have thought it worth while to reproduce them here. Many of these are defective, as all the leaves of the manuscript are more or less frayed. Some of the pictures are visibly products of the author's imagination, while others doubtless are drawn after living models, or at least from memory, because in some cases the likeness is striking, and I believe, many of these pictures compare favorably with drawings which are to be found in foreign books of that century on similar subjects. Most of the manuscript copies have also pictures, but they are either crude imitations of the original ones (as in JS. 76, 8° and JS. 86, 8°), or entirely new and altogether too fanciful (as in ÍBf. 171, 4°), hence there was no reason for reproducing any of them as illustrative of Jón's draftmanship or as an help to identify the animals in question.

This is the first natural history of Iceland written in the vernacular which has been preserved down to our days; the lost one by Bishop Oddur may have been in Icelandic, although his son quotes it by a Greek title, and Bishop Gísli's work which precedes Jón's by a few years was written in Latin. These two in a certain way supplement one another, Gísli giving a fuller description of the country, of the animal kingdom, with one exception, and of the vegetable kingdom which Jón does not

mention at all in this work, since he treated it in another place. Jón, on the other hand, writes more about the islands in the ocean round Iceland, and has that remarkable chapter about whales, which for a long time remained the standard work on the subject in Iceland. It is especially because of these two features that I considered it worth while to publish it. Both Gísli's and Jón's works are now principally of interest as folkloristic sources, although naturalists may also find some useful information there.¹ It may be noted that Jón does not write as much about monsters or fabulous animals as Bishop Gísli, not because the latter was more credulous, but apparently because Jón hesitated to tell about such things to an incredulous age, as he often calls his own times; he reserved all such things for himself. He even did not include certain items which he found in his sources, like the *Konungs skuggsjá*, and which he personally believed to be true; and as to monsters he confesses that he has seen many but that they had all disappeared in the severe winter of 1602. Gísli's work is altogether on a higher plane, since it was written for a different public. Jón's is the more popular of the two, and it is now to its advantage that it was written in the vernacular. But both reflect the ideas of those days, such as the belief in the mineral wealth of the country, which from that time on has always found many adherents.

In Icelandic annalistic and other historical works of the seven-

¹ 'Er [Jón] nennt die meisten der noch heute in Island gewöhnlicheren Arten [der Vögel], und manches, was es über sie schreibt, zeugt von guter Beobachtung,' writes B. Hantzsch (*Beitr. zur Kenntnis der Vogelwelt Isl.*, 1905, p. 7).—Eschricht's reference to Jón's pictures of whales which Ólafur Davíðsson mentions (*TBmf.* XIV. p. 195) I have not been able to find.—Since this was written, I have found a volume of Icelandic MSS. in the Maurer Collection, Harvard University Library (No. 26, 40), containing among other things an 18th cent. copy of the Natural History, of the C-type, which is followed by 'Nockur undirvísun um þá fugla, sem mönnum eru kunnugir á Íslande. Jón Guðmundsson,' an essay filling seven leaves (the upper half of the last leaf is lacking). This gives a much fuller account of Icelandic birds than is to be found in the Natural History; but although the essay is ascribed to Jón, I doubt if it is really from his pen. In any case it must have been changed and added to by later writers. Jón's favorite bird, the *fjölmdður*, is not mentioned there at all, nor is some information included in Jón's other works found there, while in other cases birds are differently described. Towards the end mention is made of an owl (*kattugla*) seen in Skálholt during the episcopate of Jón Vídalín (1697-1720). I do not know of any other copy of this essay.

teenth century the geographical discoveries in the northern seas by the Dutch and the English are hardly mentioned at all; yet some news of those must have reached Iceland at that time, since the Icelanders were constantly in communication with foreign fishermen, especially English, although such intercourse was strictly forbidden by the authorities after the introduction of the unfortunate trade monopoly in 1602. Basque whalers, as we have seen, also frequented Iceland for a while, and some of the explorers themselves visited the country, like Henry Hudson in 1610,¹ and Joris Carolus in 1625,² and the latter, at least, must have left some information about those voyages and newly discovered lands. However, Jón Guðmundsson is the only Icelandic writer who mentions him, and that by a strange name. The chapter on islands round Iceland in his present work is, I believe, the fullest source in the language about those discoveries although the names are strange and many inaccuracies have crept in, but as I have pointed out in the notes below it seems certain that Ægisey (or Ægiseyar) and Ægisland represent Jan Mayen and Spitsbergen respectively, and these names disappear also, as soon as fuller information was obtained and the latter names became generally known. There is another side to this question, that is, how much information foreigners got from the Icelanders regarding their early discoveries. Carolus doubtless heard of these in Iceland, but he also knew the Dutch translation of Ívar Bárðarson's treatise on Greenland and took from it names which he placed on the east coast,³ therein following an opinion current in Iceland at that time.

The most important chapter in the work is that on whales. It is, to be sure, based to a large extent on the *Speculum regale*, but it contains many new things and the author's own observations. Jón had a very good opportunity to make these; he lived for a long time near Steingrímsfjörð which of all bays was most frequented by whales, and, as we have seen above, he was on good terms with the Basque whalers, and doubtless acquired from them information on the subject. The Icelandic names for the various species vary and fluctuate somewhat, which is

¹ *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims*. Vol. XIII. Glasgow 1906, pp. 377-78.

² C. C. A. Gosch, *Danish Arctic Expeditions, 1605 to 1620*. London, 1897, II. p. xliv.

³ See Björnbo and Petersen, *Anecdota cartogr. septentr.*, pp. 12-13, 31-32. Cf. also *Hakluytus Posthumus*, etc. XIII., pp. 163-171.

not to be wondered at when one considers how uncertain the scientific nomenclature has been. The comment upon those is to be found in the notes. The chapter has been widely copied as the many manuscripts of it show, and with the exception of what Eggert Ólafsson wrote in his book of travels, it is the most important Icelandic contribution to cetology down to the times when more scientific investigations began. All Icelandic treatises on whales far into the nineteenth century are in a smaller or larger degree based on Jón's work. In B there is another list of whales which the scribe seemingly ascribes to Jón.¹ This is not found in any other manuscript of the Natural History which I have seen, and I doubt very much that Jón compiled it; besides, it probably was not in the original used by the scribe, but was copied from loose leaves.² It is quite different from the other list, scarcely anything but a brief extract from the *Speculum regale*, and really of no particular consequence. For sake of comparison I have, however, printed it in the appendix.³

About the time Jón wrote his Natural History he made a map of the northern regions. Unfortunately the original of this is lost, and the extant copies which have been made of it are either very poorly and indistinctly drawn, as the two in Gl. kgl. Sml.

¹ This is implied by his calling the other list 'Annad skrif Jóns G. S. málara um hvalfiskakynin.'

² I take it that the words 'þetta uppskrifad eptir lausum blöðum' (see p. 28) refer not only to the list of seals and fishes but to that of whales as well.

³ In all early works on whales from the *Spec. reg.* down, the length of the whales is exaggerated, and can rarely be depended upon for identification of the animals. This applies to Jón's work as well.—For writings on this subject, see especially Torfæus, *Groenlandia antiqua*, Havniæ 1706, pp. 87–97; Jón Eiríksson's notes to the ed. of *Konungs-skuggsjá*, Sorø 1768; Eggert Ólafsson, *Reise*, Sorø 1775, passim; N. Mohr, *Forsøg til en islandsk Naturhistorie*, Kjøbenhavn, 1786, pp. 12–17; O. Olavius, *Oeconomisk Reise* etc. Kbhavn, 1780, passim; Finnur Magnusson's notes in *Grönl. hist. Mindesmarker* III. pp. 264–92; Konrad Maurer, in *Zeitschr. f. deut. Philol.* IV. 1872, pp. 81–82 (Die älteste Cetologie); Gustav Guldberg, in *Zoologische Annalen* I. 1904, pp. 29–40 (Die Walthiere des Königsspiegels); O. Nordgaard's articles, in *Norsk Fiskeriidende* XXI. 1902, pp. 787–94, XXII. 1903, pp. 10–18, 79–89 (Gamle Hvalnavne), in *Festskrift til Prof. A. Helland*, 1916, pp. 213–22 (Gamle Dyrenavne), and in the ed. of *Konungs skuggsjá* of 1920, pp. 107–17 (Forklaringer til de vigtigste av Kongespeilets dyrenavne); Ólafur Davíðsson, in *Scottish Review* XXXVI. 1900, pp. 312–32 (The folk-lore of Icelandic fishse); Þorv. Thoroddsen, *Lýsing Íslands*, 1911, vol. II.—See also the articles on whales by D. F. Eschricht, in *Det kgl. danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter*, 4. R. Naturv. og matemat. Afd. XI. Bd. pp. 129–378; XII. Bd. pp. 227–396; 5. R. I. Bd. pp. 85–138, (and J. Reinhardt) V. Bd. pp. 433–590.

2877, 4°, or elaborately retouched as those in AM. 364, fol., Gl. kgl. Sml. 997, fol., which gives the date 1640, and Gl. kgl. Sml. 2881, 4°, upon which apparently Torfæus' edition of the map in his *Grönlandia antiqua* (1706) is based. Therefore it is difficult to say how the original looked and what names it included. As far as earlier sources are concerned it is based upon the saga of Eirik the Red of the *Hauksbók*, and as was common in those days and for a long time afterwards, the Eastern Settlement (*Eystribygð*) is placed on the east coast of Greenland. Some of the mythical-heroic sagas (*Fornaldarsögur*) are also drawn upon, as the names Helluland (different from that of the saga of Eirik), Risaland, Ragnarshaugur, Ragnarsslóði, Dumbshaf show. For comparison with the map as published by Torfæus I have reproduced here one of the copies in Gl. kgl. Sml. 2877, 4°. The former contains more names of islands round Iceland, but which of them were on the original map and which were added by the retoucher is impossible to say. It is certain that Ægisey and Ægisland appeared there, since all the copies have them. The map is now only of interest as showing Jón's geographical conceptions, and probably those of many of his contemporaries.

Jón was often called *hinn lærði* (the learned) by his contemporaries, and posterity adopted the title, since, though his knowledge was unsystematic and scrappy, the epithet is not wholly unmerited.¹ He was also called *tannsmiður* (the tooth-smith, because he made objects of walrus and whales' teeth) and *málari* (the painter). To my knowledge no piece showing his workmanship of the former kind now exists; an alter-piece, carved presumably of wood, was to be found in the church of Hjaltastad, in the latter half of the eighteenth century,² but this also has disappeared. Of his paintings nothing is known. All that remains of his artistic efforts is therefore the drawings here reproduced, and I have thought them worthy to be preserved in print.

¹ Jón Espólin disagrees, since in the index to his *Árbækur* he writes 'lærði (hér nasvitri),' that is, would-be-wise, or the like.

² See O. Olavius, *Oeconomisk Reise igiennem Island*, 1780, II. pp. 629-30.

EIN STUTT UNDIRRIETTING UM ÍSLANDS ADSKILIANLEGAR NÁTTÚRUR

Ísland hefur j sier margar og undarlegar náttúrir, sem einginn af þeim forstandigu landzmönnum kann með sönnu að neita, en vilja þó órannsakad vera láta. Fyrst skýra þær gömlu íslenzku [historiur og fróðar bækur ¹ næsta greinilega frá um þann undarlega elld og hita, sem allvíjda er og verid hefur, bædi j og undir landinu, undir síónum, sem skrifast að verid hafi fyrir Reykianesi sydra, þegar Elldeya fiall þar nidur brann og bráðnadi, en sá fuglastapi kom upp aptur,² sem nú kallast Elldeyar, undir jöklum og jöklavötnum, sem og líós elldgangur vitnar, upp úr þeim giósandi, eirnin um vora daga. 10

[Par er eitt fiall, undarlegt j bland fleiri, sem er það nafnkunna Hekluþiall. Par seigist nú nýlega, at fundist hafi, j nálægu bergi, vel gagnlegt silfurnám, 1636, fyrir heimuglega tilvijsan þess íslenzka manns, sem þar nálægt skyldi búid hafa, hvors nafn uppteiknad var Jón Biarnason, en landzmenn seigia at hans bær heiti Næfurholtt. Sá danski madur flutti það út, og þótti vel reynast j Kaupenhafn, um veturinn sem eg var þar, og mior var sýnt það óbrætt, en minn stýrimadur sýndi mior j bók sinni þetta uppteiknad.³

J vorum gömlu Íslands landnámsbókum skrifast margt um adskilianlegar [náttúrir landsins,⁴ eirnin um þá heidnu vijsu formenn, sem hingad komu [frá Hálogalandz, Finnmerkur og Gandvíjkur endimörkum,⁵ þann tíjd sem Ísland var j byggingu, og nöckrer komu sijdar. Par j bland voru nöckrer sem lært höfdu Dofra konster [(sá búid hafdi ⁶ j Dofrafiöllum j Noreigi).²⁵ Þeir kunnu jörd og berg að opna og aptur að lykia, þar út og inn að ganga, so sem að voru þeir Bárður j Jökle, Hámundur j Hámundarhellir, Bergþór j Bláfelli, Ármann j Ármannsfelli, og Skeggávalldi, sem fann Áradale, og giördist gud yfir, því so bidur þar fólkid: Skeggávalldi skygg þú yfir land þitt, so ecki verði so Áradalir fundnir. Slijkir gamlir formenn útvöldu sier j soddan

¹ historiú bækur, C. ² jgien, C. ³ B only. The other MSS. summarize it briefly in another place. ⁴ Íslands náttúrir, B. ⁵ Omitted in B. ⁶ og búid höfdu, B. af þeim er búid höfdu, D.

leynifylsnum, hellum edur fellum að búa, so þeir væri helldur frij fyrir öllu ráni, öfund og ásóknum landsins jnnbyggjara, því annars hefðu þeir ecki kunnad frid að hafa með síjna náttúru- steina, nægt silfurz og annarz málmz j jörðu vitandi, með þeim 5 góðu áfeingu vijnberium og ölkellidum, sem bernskir menn hafa fundid bædi að fornu og niju, og ei verður með sönnu neitad.

[Nú vilja landzmenn aungvu umgiegna, þó hier sie j jörðu allvijda nægd silfurz, copar, blij, edur ennfleira metallzkyn so vel sem hier er brennisteinn, Mercurius, járnraude nóglegur, 10 steinkol, surtarbrandur, og margslags mór j jörðu að lit og náttúru, berg ýmisleg og margra handa, bæde haurd og blaut.¹

Um Jslands þang og ávexti j fiörunum.

Söl og Gudmundargrös eru þeir gagnlegustu fiöruávextir hier.

Þang er til þess að fæga og hreinsa menn jnnan af kvidsótt, 15 búkveiki og öllu slijmi, giörer mönnum náttúrlegann stólgang og góða heilsubót. Það skal vera vel sodid. Vier köllum það ætt þang. Hitt annad köllum vier hrossaþang; það er elldividur j eyum og á Sudurnesium.

Á brimklettum vex slafak, sumer kalla Mariuþang edur 20 brimsöl. Það er hier bakad j milli heitra hellna, og þær kökur eru sem ostur; sie það j heitri miólk etid, lætur menn vel sofa; það má og þurka sem söl. Söl eru marghæf, bædi útvortis og innvortis, einkum þau raudu söltu; en þau gulu sem j vatns- blendingi vaxa eru miklu sætari.

25 Gudmundargrös eru lifraud og miklu betri enn heidagrös.

Þönglakyn það hafa menn eitt uppdreigid, 4 eda 5 fadma rótarlausa, sem fuglakyn lijtid hefur út úr vaxid; hvort það mune siófarhrafi² vera edur annad, vitum vier ecki.

Annad stöörþönglakyn alment sem skógur j siönnum köllum vier 30 hrossaþöngla, en laufavöxtinn³ uppúr kellingareyru. Þá köllum vier biöllur, en laufavöxtinn³ upp úr kiarna. Þá⁴ eru enn margir smávaxnir fiöruávextir raudir fyrir saudi, menn kalla fiörugróða, sem vex undir eins sem grasid á landi, sumt langt en sumt stutt, sumt með blöðum en sumt sijvallt. Eitt kyn þangs er hvijtt 35 og liett, með laufum sem lijn, og so sem priónad eda ofid sie. Þau liettu kyn eru mörg, fýsiböggull og soddan, með ýmsum náttúrum, til nöckurs nýtandi so sem jardargrös og ávextir.

¹ This paragraph only in B. Here follow in B the paragraphs put at the end of the work, pp. 24–26 as they properly belong there. ² B. All other MSS.: siófarhrafn. ³ lauf ávöxtinn, C. ⁴ C. Par, B.

Siáfargrunn er marglitad, líjka sem stórsteinar og jarkklettar á landi. Sá litur, edur sem mosi afskafinn, er af meisturum nýtandi; bædi er hann hvíttur, grár og gulgrænn, með svörtu frænóttur¹ sem heiló edur móafuglar. [Regn áttanna,² með verma edur kælu, umbreyta þeirra litum með bergsins náttúru. Hal-⁵ afiskar og önnur smákyn, eirnin³ eitruð, taka lit eptir grunni sem áður er sagt.⁴ Þetta um Jslands fiörur.

Um eyar og hólma j kringum Jsland, vid landsbrún edur á diúpa hafsins barmi.

[Þær eru⁵ allar óbyggðar og öllum jafnfriálsar, utan Gunn-¹⁰ biarnareyar hafa nockud fólk, og hafa alltið haft sijdan Jsland var byggt, sem vorar landnámabækur⁶ og historiur vitna.

Gunnbiarnareyar. Gunnbiörn sonur Úlfs kráku, nordskur maður, sem um krijng sigldi Jsland eptir Gardar ad forvitnast hvör lönd næst mundi liggia Jslandi. Hann fann fyrstur þær¹⁵ eyar, og þótti sem skier hiá Gardarshólma, hladnar [fuglum, grösum⁷ og gødum nólegum siófanga. Um þær er oflangt ad seigia. Nú sagdist Mastur⁸ Juris Trefótur Hollendski seinast þar hafa á land komid og sied tvær kirkur. Þær skulu vera sex og allar forstórar. En hvort Engelskir og Hollendskir færa²⁰ þangad kaupskap, er oss óviðst. Þær liggia j útnordurshafi, undan Ísafiardardiúpi og Adalvíjkur ritabiargi, sem sú gamla vijsa þar um hlióðar.

Sie þá siglt austur fyrir Jsland er það diúpa haf fyrst nockra stund, sem svarar Hornstrandaparti. Þá tekur til hafgrunnid²⁵ stóra, sem land er horfid; það geingur fram allt j Hafsbotna og er leirgrunn⁴ [edur og⁹ 5 fadma diúp á. Þar stendur hafíjs á löngum og giörir hafid ijsfast. Þegar nordur kemur gagnvart Skagafiardar og Fliótafiallaparti, þá kemur enn diúpa haf¹⁰ ad Grijmseyar grunnum og Kolbeinsey, fram allt ad þeirri stóru,³⁰ sem [biörg umgirda¹¹ og geyma. Þeir gömlu reikna dægurs sigling til óbygda j Hafsbotnum frá Kolbeinsey. Þá eru Hafálar¹² og sá fuglaklettur þeir kalla Hvíjtserk (Wijtsarch).

So austur ad Ægiseyum, sem j hafinu liggia gagnvart Langa-

¹ C. frænóttodur, B. ² Regnátta, D. ³ eru, CD. ⁴ Thus BC, omitted D. Accordingly the description of the 'halafiskur' (p. 17) is supposed to precede this. ⁵ All MSS. except B. ⁶ landnámsbækur, C. ⁷ fugli, grasi, CD. ⁸ C. Maður, B. ⁹ og, C. ¹⁰ diúp haf, C. diúpa haf, c. ¹¹ C. biörgum birgia, B. ¹² All MSS. except B write this with capital.

nesi¹ og Hieradsflóaparti; þær eru ecki miög stórar. Á sama stryki þar fram undan j hafid liggur Ægisland, þeir gömlu kölludu Svalbard j Hafsbótnei. Þangad eins langt og til Færeya hiedan. Jsland er j sió hiá Ægiseyum, en þá er nockud styttra
 5 þadan til Ægislands. Landid skal vel stórt og frostalijtid. Eingelskir kalla það Prestey, en Danskir og Hollendskir Egerlandt.² Það er mestallt skógi vaxid med sætum vatnsbrunnum, en ecki stórum straumvötnum, fullt med reinsdýr, villigeitur³ og hafra, med 4 eda 6 hornum; lijka elgsdýr í fialldalands-
 10 skógum. Sá parturinn sliettur sem hingad til vesturs horfir, og eirn fiördur uppj⁴ nógar hafskipahafnir. Norskir fiskar gefa sig vid því sæta vatni, og láta sig j pollum inni fiara; þar eru fiörur litlar. Hid besta land til fiski, hvalfangs, fugls og alls kyns veidifanga, med nógu grasi. Fiöllin og hábiörg landsins
 15 horfa fram⁵ j það diúpa meiginhaf, j millum Spitzbergs óbygda, sem er Nordhvalaland, því kölludu þeir gömlu það Svalbard.

Anno 1635 seigist sá danski Jurgin hafa dvalist vid Ægisland 5 vikur fullar, af Hollenskum fundid fyrir 5 árum. Þar er ein ey frálaus 2 mijlur breid, 1½⁶ mijla löng, sliett med gras
 20 og tveimur góðum höfnum, j annari ij. hollensk skip fyrir hval og fisk. Þeir og Anglar hafa óskad ad byggt landid væri. Þar austur frá er það diúpa haf til Færeya. En hier fyrir ofan landsbrún og nærri henni er og grunn, og nockur sker uppúr, þó brim gangi yfir, er kaupmenn stundum hitta hier fyrir
 25 Austfiörðum. En frá Horni Austfiarda og allt vestur yfir Vestmannaeyar ad Reykianesi veit eg ecki af nálægum eyum ad seigia. Þvi ad það hætta Villi Frijsland er langt undan j sudur hafid, þó skal þangad skamt til bygdra landa frá Reykjanesi j sudur ad sigla.

30 Frá Elldeyum og Geirfuglaskeri grynna og nyrdra skal telja xij. smásker, og siest hvort frá öðru á sömu rein riett í haf frá Reykianesi. Þá kemur eyapústur,⁷ sem minn stýrimadur Reinoldt⁸ sagdist ecki kannad hafa. En það betra og sydra Geirfuglasker liggur til sudurs, jafnlangt þangad, sem til lands frá
 35 nyrdra skeri⁹ uppá Reykianes, sem vera skal meiga hinn besti vertijdarhólmi og góðar lendingar. En vestur frá nyrdra Geirfuglaskeri skulu standa fuglastapar, alltað þeim ij. eyum, sem Eingelskir seigia þar liggia, sem jökull er uppi, allt ad grösum.

¹ Langaness, C. ² Egerland, cD. ³ villugeitur, B. ⁴ BC have a comma after: uppj. ⁵ Omitted C. ⁶ All MSS. except cD write: 1 ¾ milu.

⁷ With capital letter in B. ⁸ BC. Reinholt, c. ⁹ skerinu, C.

Síðan tekur enn til diúpa hafid fyrir Jökli og Breidafiardarflóa allt vestur að Krosseyum, sem liggja í landsíjn fyrir Raudasandsbiargi og vesturvijkum.

Um Krosseyar.¹ Krosseyar skulu vera 4 og margir smáhólmar og sker að auki, og liggja í kross; íj. lágar en sú fiórda og vestasta 5 miög há, og þeim meigin hafnir. Þar eru miklar fiörur, blágráir sandar. Þar fylltu Eíngelskir secki síjna með flíótandi ædardún, er með stórstraumum útrak af söndum um sudursundin.² Þar eru³ mikil útgrynne. Vigurselur⁴ sem krap, nægd látursæla, fugls og grass. Þar kemur allrei hafíjs, valla vetur. 10

Látraröst geingur langt í nordvesturs hafid á landsbrún að fuglaskeri einu, seigia Eíngelskir, en annað miklu minna er grunt fyrir þeim fiörðum.

Síðan veit eg ecki af eyum að seigia fyrr enn Gunnbiarnareyar taka til; um þær er áður sagt. Þaðan skyldi Gunnbiörn forðum 15 drifid hafa vestur í haf, þar til hann sá báða jökla senn, Snæfells-jökul hier, og Bláserk á Grænlandi. Líjka⁵ sem nú síðar á dögum biskups Jóns Arasonar, þá sleit undan skreidar teinæring síjra Einaris Snorrasonar, sem þá hieilt Stadarstad á Öllduhrygg. Þeir höfdu og sied báða jökla senn. 20

Um hafskrijmsl skrifa eg ecki, því eg hef ecki af þeim lesid margt en allmörg sied, þar til þau hurfu frá oss fellirs vetur hinn mikla, sem var Anno 1602.

Um hualfiskakynin í Jslands og Grænlands hafi, sem menn hafa kynning af.⁶ 25

Af þeim allra smæstu hualakynum telja menn þríu hnijsukyn, sem vor lögbók vitnar, þar hún seigir, hnijsur allar (so sem öll þeirra kyn), fiska alla (so sem og þeirra kyn), sela alla (þeirra kyn). Hún nefnir og háskerdiþinga, sem nordskir kalla hákall, og reikna sem vier með önguldregnum fiskum, hvort sem þá 30 rekur edur eru þeir veiddir á færi. En sá stóri hafskeringur, er vier köllum rýnir edur beinhákall, um hann hefur helldur tvíj og þræta ordid milli landsdrottins og leigulida sakir stærdar, annars kyns og náttúru, því hann verður ecki veiddur nie á síó unninn, xij. alna leingstur, og í honum xij. tunnur lifrar, hvar 35

¹ Thus C. Hier eptir fylgir um Krosseyar, B. ² C has the date 1622 in the margin, D incorporates it in the text. ³ C. er, B. B confuses the sentence by attaching 'þar' to 'sudursundin,' followed by a period. ⁴ veigraselur, B. viðgraselur, D. viðgraselur, d. ⁵ so, add CD. ⁶ Thus C. B has the heading: Annad skrif Jóns G: S: Málara um hvalfiskakynin, etc.

af viðst skulu renna 6. edur 7. tunnur lýsis frekar. Hann kallast rýnir af því að hann leggst aftan undir skip, og rýnir so eptir því þar til honum er fiskur gefinn. Fyr¹ sprengir hann menn j undanröðri enn hann mædist. Hafi menn ecki fisk til að gefa
 5 honum, er skást að skip liggi kyrt, þar til hann hefur full snýkt, og gefa honum þá trekefli edur kepp sinn fyr enn ecki. Hans bakbard edur horn er sverdi líkt til að sundurkliúfa skip, ef hann vill jllur vera. En hann er ecki þar til hneigdur jafnlega. Hann heitir og beinahákall, því hann hefur þar bein sem hinn
 10 hefur briósk, og er því ákaflega hardur og ómæðinn.

Sú minsta hnijsa er so sem það allra smæsta selakyn, er vier köllum selakong, edur skemming, nockud meira enn alin, sú leingst verður þess kyns, og hefur líttid horn á baki, sem hier er sýnt til nockurrar² þeckingar. [Fig.]

15 Það annað hnijsukyn er stærra og hefur soddan horn á baki til þeckingar 5 alna leingst.³ [Fig.]

Það þridia hnijsukyn, er menn kalla höfrungshnijsu, sem hákall að leingd 8. alna edur 9. leingst, og lögd x. aurum til verdkaups og sölu, líka sem alvaxinn gamall hákall á föru, með
 20 þessu formi. [Fig.]

Þar næst enn⁴ stærra kyn kalla menn höfrunga, sem hlaupa og hátt stöckva, og hafa hornid enn líkara hafurhval, er menn kalla háhyrning edur barbera.

Háhyrningakyn, edur hafurhvalur, hann hefur hæst horn og
 25 líkast hafurshorni; hann verður [xv. alna langur.⁵ [Fig.]

Þar næst telia menn skialdhval, sem opt er j bland með höfrunga og háhyrninga, því hann hefur hvíjtgula skiöldu utan á báðum kinnarvöngum og með soddan bækslum, sem hier er nú sýnt. Hann er xvij. alna; hann hefur sig opt við silungi og
 30 lætur sig inni fiara j árósum. [Fig.]

Sá mesti margföldi smáhvalakyns og happavænlegasti kalla menn vagnhvali [edur vognuhvali; ⁶ þeir bjda edur breyta allir eptir einum, þeim sem undan fer edur ferd rædur; þeir eru miög vandþecktir á sió, er þeir vada þvjílkust sem vöðusela vada.
 35 Stórhvalir sundurtvíjstra þá eda drepa, en so marga edur fáa, sem menn finna til samans, má með skipum og grióti á land reka. [xij. og xiv. alna.⁷ [Fiórir gódir menn til ródurs ráða við þá.⁸

[1607 var eg staddur j Biarneyum á Breidafirði, og þeckti ecki

¹ Fyrre, C. ² nöckrar, C. ³ leingstur, C. ⁴ C. er, B. ⁵ B. All other MSS.: xvij.; — leingstur, C. ⁶ Only. ⁷ Thus B. xvi. og xvij., C.

⁸ B has this at the end of the following paragraph.

utan eg eirn þessa hvali, og liet á land reka xl. j einu. Var riette ræntur sem optar. Eyagálar kölludu fyrst haftröll, og grýttu þá úr fiörunni fram aptur undir vor skip, fáein sem med mier voru, en ræntu oss rietti sijdar.¹

Hnijdinga kalla menn eitt smáhvalakyn; það eru ij. kyn 5 þeirra, annad x. alna, en annad xx. alna. Peir eru allir sliettir. [Fig.]

Par kallast og hvijtingar, sem þó sumir vilia varla med hvalakyni telia. Hann tekur sialdan uppi og varnar mönnum það ad síá. Nockrir kalla hann miall, hvaraf komid er það 10 máltæki, ad sialldan bregdur miallur af midi, því hann er sagdur miög vijs og forvitinn, og er opt j nálægd vid fiskimenn. So er sagt, ad menn hafi sofid allir á skipi j hákallalegu utan eirn, er miallur tók uppi og dvaldi vid ad fara nidur. Madurinn var snar og gaf honum kepshögg. Menn sögdu honum hefndavon, 15 en madurinn var ráðþægur og fór til fiallabygda, hielt sig frá sió j full xvij. ár. Par eptir meinti hann miall daudan, og fór á sama mid. Pegar kom miallur upp og greip hann eirn úr skipinu, og sást hann alldrei meir, nie helldur madurinn. Par af er það máltæki um langrækinn mann, ad sá geymi leingi 20 hugmóðinn sem miallurinn. [Fig.]

[Andarnefia, andhvalur² hefur þá náttúru, ad hennar feiti kann hvorki fugl nie nockur skepna sú varman anda j sier hefur ad mellta, því þess háttar feiti og so sem svijnhvals gegnumgeingur heillt manns hold ad sönnu, en þó allra örast andarnef- 25 iufeiti. Og því girnast það læknarar vid smyrsl sijn. Lýsi edur feiti þessara hvala kann alldri þrátt nie þrágullt ad verda, hvad gamalt sem verda kann. Hann verður xvj. alna. Jafnan sellst hennar spikvætt v. alnum sakir lýsis, ad tillögðum nockrum þvestis lyckium, þó norrænar bækur leggi þessi kyn med öllu 30 óæt. [Fig.]

Suijnhualur. ³Þessi suiijnhualur verður vijst xx[xv. al]na langur. Hans tennur þiena best til t[ann s]mijdis og eru betri enn rostungstenn því at mergur j rostungstönnum lijtir smijdit. Jeg veit það sem næsta leingi reynt hefi. Suijnhuals haus er 35 vaxinn med seyme og seiga sina pöpla, so at med öxum verður at vinna og höggva, enn hualsmiörs böglá ráser og rennur á millum þeirra gólfa. Enn utan yfir á hausnum feitilaus eda lijtil spikmynd, er menn kalla sodhual. Tvær vættir hans med

¹ B only. ² C has the heading: Andarnefia. Andhvalur. Then: Andhvalur hefur, etc. ³ Here A begins.

nockrum þuestis lyckium seliast fyrir v. alnir, enn ein vætt hans af feitu vogarspiki fyrir v. alner sakir lýsis, ef menn fara ríett med. Pöpulstycki v. fyrer v. alner, x. fyrer x. alnir, og so frammveigis, so stórt höggvinn edur skorinn sem stórskorinn 5 hákall á fiöru, ellegar gilldi, ef smátt er. Sama lag er á þvesti, x. gilldar lyckjur fyrir x. alnir og su. frv. Þó þikir það dýrt, af so beiskum óætu huölum. [*Fig. 1.*]

Bwrhualur, lx. alna langur, jlla ætur. [*Fig. 1.*] Hann hefur lxx. tanna, þó smár,² ad eins spónstædar, og eru galladar 10 jnnan til, og med smáflögum smockadar, utan j smátöfl edur knijfs skepti. Hann er vel feitur, enn hans fita nær því so næm til útgöngu sem suiñhuals edur andhuals. Hans haus hefur þunt bein holt, fullt hualsmiörs, so upp má ausa [med barielum.³ Hann er allur sliettur, hefur og eckert horn á baki. 15 Hógvær, og ei hættur skipum. Nockrir kalla hann nauthual, því stundum þikir hann baula so sem naut; sumir kalla hann búra edur durnir.

Raudkiembingur, xx[v.] alna langur, jllhueli, sijbystur j manndráp og skipaskada. [*Fig. 2.*]

20 Hrosshualur edur stöckull. Hinn skadlegasti allra jllhuala. [*Fig. 3.*] Sumir kalla hann blökuhual, og þikiast hafa lesit, ad hinn H. Brandanus siglinga biskup, hafi þeigit af gude med bæn sinne, at sú blaka skyldi vaxa yfir augum þess huals og falla ofan fyrir siónir [honum], nær hann vill sig upp taka og sk[ip] 25 hæfa; áður hafdi hann ofskadlegur verit. Hann verður ecki xx^r ad alnatali. Þessi ij. jllhualakyn, raudkemb. og hrosshual, seigir Speculum skipada óvine manna og skipa, ósedianliga og kiæna til manndrápa, alldeilis óæta.

So er lesit j sögu hins H. Brandanij biskups, at j ysta vthafi, 30 þá skyldi hann messu sungit hafa á ⁴ eylandi nackru lijnguöxnu, sem sijdan sockit hafdi, og menn nú nefna lijngbak edur hafgufu, sem endist med heiminum en fiölgar alldri. Sú saga var ólijndanleg nijiú sida mönnum, sakir teikna og fáheydræ dæma, nú j alfrijes og villdar ölldu vorri.

35 Náhuallur, xx^r leingstur, meinlaus, hógvær og óhættur. [*Fig. 4.*] Hans tönn er vij. alna. Hans feite nær sem huerfi úr katli strax sem yfir elld kemur. Enn hann allur er sú næmasta forgifft

¹ Fig. not in A, was probably on the preceding leaf. ² Thus A. smáar, BC. ³ BCD omit this. In A it looks like 'baricelum,' but is doubtless 'barielum' (vessel, small barrel), and the copyists probably did not understand the word and hence left it out. ⁴ BC.

huorror skepnu, er því bergir, huort sem það eru fuglar, menn edur dýr, þá fær þegar bana. Hier á móti eru margar góðar náttúru og yfirvættis dygdir huldar og faldar í hans tönn, huor er hvíjt og snúin öll, so sem einhirningshorn. Öll hans vand-verkt og trú er á tönninne, enn þó er hún honum gagnlaus. 5 Hún er eitt gersemi konga.

Það eru og bæði í síð og vötnum fiskar og silungar með öfugum uggum og sundfærum, með sömu náttúru og forgífft, eirnin og so skelfiskakyn, ef maturinn liggur öfugt í skelinne. So verda menn og dauðiúker eda deyia af þeim lodnu silungum, samt þó er það hár sie allt afplockat. 10

Sandlægia. [Fig. 5.] Vel æt. Hún er með huijtum tálknskíjd-um, er standa úr efra góme í stadin tanna, so sem á öllum öðrum skíjdhúðum, huorra kyn at hier eptir verda töld. Hún er miög lifsterck og kann á landi að liggia sem selur eirn heilan 15 dag. Enn í sandi bilar hún alldri.

Slietbakur, höddunefur. [Fig. 6.] xxxv. leingstur. Þeirra huala er mikill fiöldi, enn þeir útlensku hvalfangsmenn fæcka þá eirna mest; þeir veida ecki utan slietbakakynen, því at þeirra spik verður brædt enn ecki reingishuala edur reidarkyna. Menn 20 kalla og þessi slietbakakyn vatshvale, því at so sem vatn úr votu vadmáli, so rennur það þunna og klára lýsi¹ úr þeirra spiki köldu, huort sem það hanger eda liggur, því hafa hvalamenn það jafnan flíótanda, þar til það er saxað og samstundis brædt, því hlýtur þeirra spik strax á föru sem fyrst að selia, vilji menn 25 ecki skada þar af hafa, og seliast optast íj. vætters fyrir xv. alner, því það rýrist so miög fyrir mönnum.

Skieliungur, edur suarfhualur. [Fig.] Hann hefur skeliar og hrúdur um sinn haus mest. Hann nýr sier við hrúdurkletta, þar sem so er díúpt að. Enn ef hann heyrir járn-suarfshlióm, 30 er honum óljídanlegt so hann ærist eda drepur sig. Ef þunt járn sem sög stór er við skipbord sorfid með stórhöggvinni þiöl, og heyri hann það, þá ofbýður honum það og flýr, eda fyrirfer sier, ef grynningar eru nærri. Hann er huala vestur af öllum óætum húðum, við skip og menn; hann vill hlaupa á skip og sund- 35 urlíósta þau með sundfiöðrum sínum, bæxlum eda spordi. Stundum leggst hann fyrir menn í veg, so þar er einginn annar kostur enn sigla á hann. Síðan kastar hann skipi, ef hann má, og týnir því sem á er utan menn geti snidid hiá honum, enn hann hlaupi fram hiá. Hann er þó vel feitur og stór með stutt- 40

¹ Here begins a lacuna, probably one leaf, in A.

um skjldum, sem kíálkameidinni¹ hæfir. Hann verður vel lx. alna langur.

Nordhualur. lxxx. alna langur. [Fig.] Nordhualakyn kann ecki að alast nie tijingast utan j nordursið vorum sakir votrar
 5 vedráttu, ² því hann dregur ecki j sig til næringar nockra lifandi skepnu j síónum, heldur lifir hann alleinasta við regn, krappa, edur úrkomudropa, sem úr himni falla á síð ofan; hann gijn og gapir þar eptir, enn má þó ljítt munn sinn opna, því að tálkn rijsa um þverar kverkar honum, og fær hann opt bana af því, er
 10 hann má ei munn sinn aptur láta; er það hættast þá hann er mest þýstastur. ³ Hann er þó spikfeitastur, so tvijskera verður stundum sakir þýctar. Hinn mesti hlutur hans er höfudid, og er jafndigur sem hann er langur til, þó hann sie mæltur. Hann hefur xiiij. alna löng skjldi. Enn hinir minni höddunefar edur
 15 sliettbakar hálfíórdu edur fimtu alin, og kallast fyrir það langskjldingar edur vatshualakyn. Nordhualsspik rennur ódara á fiöru. Hualfangsmönnum er hann bestur.

Nú eptir fylgir um reidakynin bæði þau smærri, stærri og stæstu.

20 Hrafnreidur. [Fig.] Hún er sú fyrsta og smæsta af öllum reidakynum, xviiij. alna að leingd. Hún hefur spannarlöng skjldi eptir síjnum vexti og eru hvíjt. Líjka so er hvíjtt allt reingid á maganum. Sá er greinarmunur á millum reidakyna og sliettbaka, að reidakyn öll hafa reingi og besta mergiarflot
 25 j beinum, og þeirra spik því betra sem leingur hangir, og skal alldri síða. Hafa þeir bestu meidi so góða og hreina sem smiör. So góð verður hún af bestu steypireidi iij. missira gömul, að sú vætt soddan meidar leggst xl. alnum, seigir það gamla hualagalag. ⁴ En vatzhvala eda sliettbakakyn hafa öngvan
 30 merg i beinum, so sem selur, og kostir þeirra feiti sem sels fyrir menn. En af góðum reidarfiskum með vatne einu, fær merglaust fólk allra flíótast bæði holld og hams, merg og allan þrótt. En vatzhvalalýsi er ecki utan til saulu, en næst og fæst með mesta kostnadi, því það hlýtur strax at brytia nidur j jlát, ellegar
 35 undir setia trog eda stocka, ef upp er fest, sem áður er sagt. Spenar, gottrauf, og so pintill á sliettbakakynum er so klient sem á kvijgum vorum eda ungum törfum, og kvarner j þeirra höfðum ecki stærri enn saudarvala. En skapningar á reidarfiskakynum er hvortveggia forstórt, og so kvarnarnar.

¹ C. kíálka meyminni, B. ² C. vedur háttu, B. ³ eptir, adds B.

⁴ Here ends the lacuna in A.

Geirreidur. Iv. alna optast. [Fig. 7.]

Sijldreki, edur fiskreki. lx. alna og vel digur. [Fig. 8.] Gamalnorsker og færeyskir hielldu at hann ræki til veidimanna bædi sijld og allzkyns fiski, so leingi sem þeir yrði ecki of miög missáttir, en þá ræki hann frá þeim aptur j haf út, sem og sú 5 norska Speculum Regale vitnar. Hann hefur stutt skjidi so sem aller adrer reingishualer; hann má bellta sig med bæxlum sijnum. Af þeim [hefi eg kient mönnum ad rista¹ þau bestu ledurreip, eru bædi miúk og langvinn.

Hafurkytte. lx. alna edur sem sijldreke. [Fig. 9.] Hann 10 hefur j sijnu holi mestann mör og bestann allra reingishvala og reidarkyna. Og hans netia á lijkan hátt sem búfiár. Hann er miög fagur ásýndar, bædi á bók og so á bæxlum, med hvijtu rósaverki og margbreytiligum hagalstiörnum, kuijslum og so sem þrádum á milli, [þvi ad eg skodadi þetta ad honum uppskorn- 15 um.² Pad er og vitanda ad eingin huallifur er æt, þvi ad menn flagna af henni hvors kyns sem hann er.

Hafreidur. xc. alna löng eda meir, mier vel kunnig. [Fig. 10.] Hún geingur næst siálf³ steypi reidi, bædi at giædum og náttúru. Pad er og vijst vitad, at lijka so sem hvalur hefur stoerd yfir 20 adra siófiska, so hefur hann og mikil vijsinde framm yfir þá, so at fáir mundu þvi trúa nú, þó þar væri fleyra um talat eda skrifat, sem þau tvö umlidinn dæme ávijsa um miall og sijldarreka; so eru og mörg önnur sannreynd dæme um jllhvala visku sem langt er at telia. 25

Steypireidur, weidd xij. tigi alna. Allra huala best og helgust, sem j siónum eru skapader. [Fig. 11.] Pagar jller hualer vilia grand giöra mönnum og skipum, þá er ráð ad flýia til hennar, sie hún nærri og verda sem næst henne; þó er margopt reynt, at hún ver skip og menn siálfkrafa, nær hún sier og veit 30 menn þess vid þurfa. So er og skrifat, ef menn mættu ná af aukning fræs þess huals, þá væri þad aurugg lækning, bædi til augna, móti lijkrá, og vid flestum öllum sóttum, sem menn fá. Menn brúka þad og til jnnan meina, og ad smyria med þvi forlömud og lúinn lidamót. Menn kalla þad hier hualsauka, 35 sumer spermaceti, edur hualambur, edur⁴ walradt, edur ambra, en margir menn edur velflestir hier nú þeckia þad ecki.

Á vorin j þeim mánudi Junio eru út flest hualakyn j stæstum hópum, er menn kalla hier hualgrindur, og nær þeir verda hier á

¹ Thus also B. hafa menn rist, CD. ² Thus also B. CD omit. ³ So A. Other MSS.: siálfre. ⁴ BC. edder, A.

landz brún edur ofar fyrir jsum, þá rekur frá þeim til landz leingi sumars þetta hualambur; er þat þá þat kemur af góðhuölum huijtt sem hueiti á síónum flíótandi, utan huort korn þar j aflangt; síjdan velltir vindbára því saman og skekur j
 5 smábögla, so¹ sem þá er miólk er borin j littlu keralldi. En þad hæfir alldri tanga, hleina nie útnes, helldur hefur þad sig inn j landid sem leingst, uppleitandi vijkur, lækiarósa, sem lygner eru, og smelltir sig síálft og herdir aptur eptir tijdum daganna. Nú þó ad þessa góða kyns² náist ecki, þá skrifast
 10 þó miög góð margra annara, þó þetta sie best. Nockrer þykast til nockurs gagns nytia meiga huors kyns sem er.

Ólafur bóndi, sem átti Ædey j Jsafirdi, á dögum Biörns bónda Einarssonar, sem var fadir Vatnsfiardar Kristijnar, hann var hinn mesti hualaskutlari, og vitringur mikill og hóglátur. Pau
 15 síjdustu xv. ár hans lijfdaga færði honum hin sama reidur kálf sinn vaxinn á hvoriu sumri, fyr enn hún fór til hafs. Hann hafdi markad med gati j gegnum hornid, og vildi henni ecki granda, því hann sagði sama ár verda mundi sijns lijfs enda og hennar, sem og skedi ad lidnum þeim tijma, ad hún vard fyrir
 20 óviliandi, þá er hann vildi kálfinn hæfa, og liet hann þad vera sinn síjdasta hual.³ [Gudrún, hans dóttir, var ad sönnu (sem bref vottudu og votta) módir Þormóðar yngsta Salomonssonar, sem var fadir Hákonar födur födur mijns. So er mitt kyn af sama Ólafi komid.⁴

25 ⁵ Um þær gömlu leigulidanytiar, sem Rekabálki til heyra ad fornu, fyrr enn þeir iij. Ódals Cap. og ij. adrir úr Búalögum voru frá teknir.

Gamall fullvaxinn hákall á fiöru er lagdur x. aura til verds og kaups, jafnan leigulidaeign, utan fleiri komi senn á land enn v.,
 30 sem rekamannsgrein j Rekabálki vitnar. Slijkt hid sama er og um hnijsur. So skal og festarhlutur vera x. aura virdi, og

¹ Another lacuna, probably of one leaf, begins here in A. ² þad, adds C.

³ því hann deydi á því sama ári, add Dd. ⁴ B only has this passage here. Cc put it at the end after the extract from the 'máldagi,' and put it in third person (födur Jóns málara). ⁵ This and the following paragraph from the 'máldagabók' are placed here only in B. And it is doubtless their original place as they would fill the lacking leaf. In Cc they are inserted after the section 'Wm vatzormakyn,' and before 'Wm jardarmó.'—B has before the extracts the following: Þetta skrifar Jón Gudmundsson sem kalladur var málari eda og tannsmidur. Enn af almúgamönnun var hann kalladur Jón lærde, saker síns fróðleiks, og ad sönnu hefur hann margfróður verid.

jafnan skulu leigulidanytiar vera, ef ei er meira enn x. aura virði það er á land rekur af hual, og einginn kann sier helga fyrir festarstúfa, urgur, edur önnur teikn að lögum.

[Úr Videyarklausturs bók og máldaga.¹

Pegar meira er enn xiiij. vættir hueliuhuals, það er á land 5 kemur, þá er skiptingarhualur, en fyrri ecki, eptir eignarpörtum og jtökum huorium sitt. Skal af flá bæxlum með fiður og horni, og vega hvorki brióst nie bein. Nú ef hueliuhualur kemur so mikill á land, að skipta eigi, þá skal þar með skipta þvesti, beinum og öllu því sem fiemætt er j hual. Reingi, 10 gómhual og tunguhual [skal vega til skiptis sem skiphual, Ibid. Cap. ² Ef sumar festar eru bornar j hual, en sumar ei, þá skulu allir ábyrgiast eptir því sem huor á j hual til, og so hual þó að úttaki. En þeir sem festu og fluttu, hafi fult fyrir sitt starf og kostnad, en ei tekst þá meiri festingar hualur. 15

Ef eirn hual rekur á land j iv. hlutum og eigi eirn fiöru, þá skal sem eirn sie hualur, ef samdægris kemur á land. Skal ráða sól um sumar, en dagur um vetur, og skal sá ransaka sijna fiöru alla, er hualur kemur á. En ef hualur kemur ei samdægris, þá á sá er grasnautnar reka edur land á, en skipti þeim sem meiri 20 er, hvort sem það er eirn hlutur, ij. eda fleiri.

So skal hualskiptisvog til jafnadar giöra. Setji fyrst triestólpa ³ fastan, og hafi ⁴ j ofanverðum klofa, og þar j veltiás. Sijðan heingi bord við báða enda ássins, og jafnveigi þar á, sem giört er j metaviktum.⁵ 25

⁶ Wm rostunginn. [Fig. 12.]

Sumer kölludu rosmhual. Enn hans skapning er þó at öllu eins og sels utan hans tvær stóru tenn ⁷ og hid mikla skegg. Hann verður xiiij. alna leingstur, enn tennur hans hálfönnur alinn edur tueggia. Pegar þeir hittast huijtu jsabiörn og hann, 30 verður optast hvor annars bane, því að rostungi er það óþolanlegt, að blóð edur saurkám komi á hans huijtu tenn.⁷ Hvar af kominn er sá málsháttur, nær eirn seigir at annar hafi komit sier blóð á tenn.⁷ Hans sverður edur suardreip, sem ristid er af gömlum rostungi skal hallda lx. manna afle. Hann er skadligur 35

¹ The heading in Cc is: I Videyar klausturs bók og máldaga er sagt að so stande. ² Not in B. c has skiptehval for skiphval. ³ til stólpa, C. ⁴ haf, C. ⁵ There is a drawing of this in Thott 954, fol. ⁶ Here A begins again. ⁷ Thus A. tennur, BC.

ef menn ganga aptan að honum, enn óhættur framann til; er so hægst hann að vinna að kasta saur á tenn hans, eður blóðga naser, enn miög er hann lifjsterkur.

Selakyn hier.

- 5 1. Selakongur eður skemmingur. Hann er ¹ alnarlangur sem áður er sagt.
2. Nordselakyn, vorir láturselar, þeir hier kalla nórungr, hálf
4^a alinn. Hann kjaþir um sauburd hier við land.
3. Wigraselur nær 6. eða 7. alna. Hann kjaþir nálœgt jngöngu
10 Adventu tíjmans. Hans kópur má alldri j síó koma fyrre enn hann er úr öllum hárum. Vær jslenskir meinum að þeir færeysku ² muni það kyn Orcka eður Orkneya sela kalla. Hann er við óbygðar eyar eður vtskier sem Jslandz mönnum er alkunnigt.
4. Blöðruselur nafn tekur af sinne blöðru, og villist af hafi
15 hingat til landz, eirn í senn og þó sialldan.
5. Wtsel köllum vier eitt hafselakyn, villist hingad stundum, nockut stærre enn látursselar vorer.
6. Opnusel, ³ jsasel, eður wödusel kalla menn eitt hafselakyn, sem jafnan fylgier jsum opnir eður upp j lopt synda, líjkast
20 sem vögnuhaler, með jsasijle fákiendu og þeim fuglum er jsakrákur heita.
- Hafjsum fylgia og huijtir birnir, huijtir fálkar og refar, huijt-fleckóttir hrafnar. Og ein alhuijt örn breidradi sig j fuglabiargi á Hornströndum, j minu minne, og epter það eg þaðan fór.
- 25 7. Grænsela ⁴ kalla menn það allra stæsta selakyn; kemur villtur af hafi, og nær sem hákall að leingd, miög sialldsien, eirn j senn, nær það skier.

Wm hvijta biörn.

- I Nordurhafs botnum, vitnar sú grænlenška prestaskipsreisa
30 j Hauks bók, skyldi verit hafa so mikill margfiöldi huijtra biarndýra, að ei var fært frá skipi þeirra á landit að forvitnast, og þrijtur þá alldri fædis af selum og huölum. Húnberann skal leggja iij.⁵ ungum út á eitt blad sem hún fyrst fædir, og so sem sá þridie og sijdaste kemur, verður þeim of þröngt, og velltur
35 einhuor útaf; þann sama helslær hún, en tekur hina á sijna tuo spena, og taka þeir mikil og skiót umskipti við móðurmiólkina með hvorium dryck að líjkast sijnu kyne. Wm hans náttúrur

¹ BC. ² faareysku, A. ³ Indistinct in A, might be 'opru,' as C has it. B omits the word. ⁴ Thus all MSS. (except D has: moenusel). It should doubtless be: gransela.

er of langt allar at vtskyra. Hann reynir opt til at svelta sig úr hamnum, sem vera skal xxx. daga og xxx. nætur, og þó so mætti skie, þá er einginn maður nærri [j því¹ biarnarhijdi at brenna hamenn edur j burt taka á medann hann liggur j dæ med rettre manns mynd; því hljitur náttúrann honum aptur j 5 haminn vijkia, og verdur hann þá jllur og grádugur. Hans sveiti og feiti er til [á áverka,² en þó gróa allðri vel hans sár. Gall hans er vid nidurfallz sótt.

Wm fiska kyn hier.

Hákall. Hámer, sumer kalla hamar. Háfur. Hlýre. Stein- 10
bijtur. Kole, sumer kalla sandhverfu, [edur lúdu, en eg seigi eptir sijn, lúda er annat kyn.³ Keyla. Skata. Tindabyckia, sem at er sú litla tindaskata. Flydra. Poskur. Langa. Bromsa. Upse.

Sijllda kyn og sija.

15

Sú stóra hafsijlld. Miósiijld, sem norskir og netamenn veida.
Lodnusiijld. Kópsiijld. Sijlakynenn. Trónusiijl. Miósiijl.
Grásiijl, seide og jsasiijl. Jsahákur er nockut stærri.

Forgiftug óæt fiska kyn.

Poskur med öfugum sundfærum. Blágómann. Wogmerinn. 20
Pessi óæt. Hámúsinn. Lampurinn. Par til mörg smáfiska kyn æt og eiturlaus millum spordz og höfudz, so sem ad er marhnúturinn, suerdiskurinn og fleyri fiöruþiskar. Par eru og mörg eitrud kyn j sióblendingi, flædar edur fiörupollum, hröckálsbróðirinn, hornsijlamakinn spannarlangur, og fleyri adrir. 25

Blágómann. [*Fig. 13.*]

Wogmerinn. [*Fig. 14.*] Hún hefur forfagran lit, enn fuglar, hundar edur dýr falla allðri á. Par af er það máltæki til dæmis dreigit, ad þeim edur þeim sie lánadur liturinn, enn ecki annat lijka sem wogmerinne. Hún er þunn og flatvaxin so sem fiöl. 30
Ein saga gömul hefur hier j landi til gamans samt öðrum sögd og lesin verit, af þeirri vænu Völu drotningu og Vidfinnu wölufegri, huar af drotn. fylltist öfundar og kom Widfinnu j ósköp, stórar þrautir og lijfs fár. Hún skyllði hafa átt eitt gullkier med sannsagnar öndum þar jnne, sem henne sögdu, nær hún spurdi. 35
So stendur j sögunne. Sem hún gieck til kiersins, sagði hún: Seig þú mier það kierid góða gulli bundit: hvort er Widfinna Völufegri lijfs edur daud. Kierit svaradi: lifir hún. En þegar

¹ Thus AB. nærre því, C. ² áverka, BC. ³ C omits this.

allar þrautir voru afstadnar, vard sú vonda Vala drottning fyrir makligri hefnd og þeim álögum, at hún stefndist nordur j hinn diúpa sið, og skyldi þar verda at soddan fiski, enn kier hennar at iygulkieri, sem er fullt raudra hrogna, huar [af kierin
5 friðfast sem fiska kyn sem oss er lióst.¹ Enn sá breytilegi hagleikur sem á því er jnnvortis, mættu vijser og gódfúser skoda. Enn alfrijesins jllingar ættu sem fæst ad fornema. Huort sú saga hefur sönn verit, edur er fabulerud af fiskinum hinum vonda, það má vera sem menn vilia.

- 10 Hámúsin, óæt. [Fig. 14.] Hún dregst á öngul j morgunlýsing; lifur hennar til líosa med sinne nátturu.

Karfinn jafnan raudur. Hans gleraugu upptaka augnalækningarar, það er hinna klár sem gler utan yfir augum hans; hana sier einginn á medan hann lifir, og ecki fyrre enn hann slaknar,
15 og þó med adgiætnei. Þad er náttúru hinna.

Gudlaxinn. [Fig. 15.] 9. alna. Hann er allra fiska fegurstur; hefur rafabellti nær sem flidra. Hann er sætur og gefur smiör gott og fagurt af siálfum sier, eirninn náttköldum, so at hrúgar umkring á diskinum. Hann liet sig jnne fiara hiá
20 silungum j öse einum á Skardzströnd, og þordi einginn at smacka fyrre enn jeg, sem hann vel þeckti.

Hrognkelse kalla menn eitt fiskakyn, sem grásleppa og raudmagi, elskar fagrar fiörur og gýtur sínum hrognum 4. sinnum um árit.

- 25 Wm fiörukyndur.

Brimbútur [Fig.], lifurraudur, því at siðfarbrim færir hann j fiörur upp, og þar lifir hann leingi sijdan. Hann skrijdur þó miög seint gangi; hann er fullur med smá þiætt ræksn, þarma edur jnnýfli, sem máfar og adrir fuglar veidast á, því þeir gefa lijf
30 fyrer þann smeck. Þessi siðfarormur, litur sem ánumadkur hiá oss á lande², myndar sig á sið vegu, og færir sið³ lága hnúda úr höfði út, so sem fyrir⁴ hornum, so sem þá brecku snijell hann jnn dregur horn sijn; hann sijnir öllum ij., önnur ij. sialldan, enn ödrum fiörum hann ávallt leynir, þó siest fyrir öllum nockut þá
35 honum lijkar best. Enn so skal náttúru þessa blauta fiöruorms til locka at byrta sijnar breytingar, at láta hann vera j ferskum

¹ This lacks in B, which explains in the margin: vantar. ² land, A.

³ A defective here, but all the other MSS. have: sið, which, however, disagrees with the number given below, making them eight. ⁴ A defective. Thus BC.

sió j hreinne byttu, og skipta um á honum med hvoriu dægri, j vel vörmu húsi, og má giæta at honum med huorium tveim stundum edur iij. og ecki sialldnar. Hann hefur lijtil tvö göt sitt á hvorum enda. Pegar sá ferski siór mátalega ¹ á honum hýrnar af yl hússins, þá skiptir hann um, og kann langur ad verda med 5 hálse.² Allt þetta er prófat [hiá þeim falska ³ á Bessastöðum; leingi lifir hann þar, en visnar og skrælist um sijdir, lijka sem lumbur ⁴ terrestris, gulu edur ámumadkur.

Halafiskurinn. [Fig. 16.] Hann tekur hier lit eptir fögru grunne, enn þýskir kalla hann blackfisk og mála hann suartan. 10 Hann hefur ix. hala, og ij. augu. Enn hvar sem sniótur hans höfudz snertir þang edur stein, þá springur hann og kemur græn gusa fram úr honum, og hrærist hann ecki meir. Kýr jeta hann sem þara, og máfar einir medan hann er feskur og fliótandi.

Norska fiska rekur hier stundum, og hallda menn hier þá óæta. 15 Á Sudurnesium rak einn stóran knurra, meir enn alnar langan, og þordi einginn at jeta. Mackrijl hlióp á land eitt vor á Hornströndum, so ad fyllti fiörur og vijkur, og hlaut siór og vargur öllu at foreyda, því at einginn þeckti og hielldu óæta eptir vana.

20

Wm skelfiska kynen.

Krabbe er hier smár og kallast marþvara. Marfló lijka smá. Þá er rá, og hefur hún spord; hún jetur med stórum undrum á stuttum tijma, því hafa marglátir hana fyrir meingand j siónum, at jeta bædi nót og sel [sem nú má heyra og hálfu fleyra, það 25 má ei greina meira, siest enn seira.⁵

Kudunga kyn eru hier iiij.

Meistarar nýta það og fleyra af vorum ætum kudungum, at þeir brenna þá med fiskinum so glóandi verdi, og slökvi j uxa þvíagi, og láti neyta j mat og dryckiu, so ad hún eda hann ecki 30 viti; það varnar pijku kallmannafari og ogso lauslætismönnum óhóflegri kvennseme. So og eirninn lijka ganga siósóttarmenn j fiöru leynelega, og suelgia hráann fiskinn úr honum 3. sinnum med vaxanda og so þverranda tungli med litlum sió sopa. Hann skrijdur mest úr diúpi j midiu fiska merki og þaðann af. Ef 35 menn þá jeta mikit af þeim, verda þeir so sem fordrucknir menn so þeir standa ecki; þat köllum vier kudungaridu, og má af sier

¹ Thus A. mátulega, BC. ² Here A has some unreadable word in the margin, which is not found in the other MSS. ³ BCD omit this. ⁴ Thus A. ⁵ C omits this.

sofa. Madkur eign er jnnan j midium fiski hans, sem hann hrærist af; sie hann j burt tækinn, þegar hann er sodinn, so fá menn ecki þessa kudungaridu af honum. Enn þegar hann elldist, verður þar krabbinn af; skapast fyst söxinn, þar til hann kemur allur út; það köllum vier marþvöru edur midkrabba. Annat kudunga kyn köllum vier meyarpoppu edur spena; hún er sliett og fallega hnöttótt; sumer kalla hana fiedúfu sijna, og konur hafa hana giarnan j kistum sijnum. Hún hefur alla sijna náttúru, nær hún hittist med fiski sijnum. Þá smæstu kalla nákudunga þeir hier. En eg helld þá forgiftuga med tindóttum röggum vera þat, so sem á basilisku hana eggi. Þar verður úr lijtil eiturkrabbi, lijkari pöddu, yrmlingi edur sem dreka; hann er forgift.

Æt skielfiska kyn hier.

- 15 Gymburskiel, edur barnaleikur. Kúskiel. Krókfisksskiel. Báruskiel. Vier köllum hörpudiska S. Jacobs skiel, sem hann hielt mikít af og bar j hatti sijnum, þó hann væri fyrir spottadur, med söngtölum j hendi, og pilagrim's pickstaf i annare. Sandmijgur. Kræklingur med mestum fiölda, og þar næst ada. 20 Olbogaskiel edur sú litla bergskiel, því hún vex ein sier á bergi. Siófarfálki er hier i fiörum sialldsien, hefur skiel og hræring sem krabbi, gulur ad lit og raudur sumstadar. Marangakló kemur úr grunni upp, so sem úr lijtilri ledurkrijnglu med mörgum kuikandi krókaaungum. Enn hvad lijtid sem menn snerta 25 þá, kreppast þeir saman og huerfa ofan j sömu krijnglu; hafi það eitur veit eg ecki.

Wm ijgulkierit er ádur sagt.

Siófar ijgull [Fig. 18], hans hárbroddar so sem á ijgulkiere hardir.

- 30 Kögurinn. [Fig. 19.] Hann er huijtur og lodinn med stuttum lagdi sem saudur; hann skrijdur j sió og pollum, ecki seint.

Krossfiskur [fig. 20] og hagalfiskur [fig. 21], myklu fleyri, margbreyttari soddan kyn.

Þau skadligustu kyn j fiörunne.

- 35 Skierinn. [Fig. 22.] Eirn skadligur og flugnæmur eitormur.

Eitur nálinn sú rauda. [Fig. 23.] Þær eru litlar og mióar so sem strákorn, og med fleyrum litaskiptum. Ungmenne hafa ordit bráddaud, nær þær leynast j blautum saulvum, og saudir

fá opt fiórufall. Þær sprickla hart og tijtt með sijna beygda króka, og giegnum fljgur so sem nál.

Nær nockur skielfiskur finst öfugur j sinne skiel, er bane þess sem bergier.

Wm siófar eitur.

5

Þad sijnist sem marilldis smáneistar i báru skugga, enn j biörtu sem þad sie úr marglytiu; þad sakar ecki heillt skinn, enn komi þad j forn ben fjngra, og sie ei strax at giört, má hann afhöggva ellegar kostar mannenn, [so sem j Rifi til bar.¹

Wm siófar hröckál.²

10

Hann hafa dreigit bædi eingelskir ogj slenskir, hringvafinn under stóru þöngulhöfði. Hann hefur so sem þunnar járnskeliar utan um sig og skadar hvervetna hvad sem fyrir verdur, so er og hans fiskur undir skelinni þeim sú skarpasta forgifft. Hans kyn geingur upp med smásilungi j lygna læki, og sijdan velur hann 15 sier diúpar kielldur edur mijrar, því hann er forklókur til skada at giöra. Enn hans náttúra vill ecki hartt og klárt straumvatn hafa. Nockrir voru hristir úr háf (menn hugdu vera silunga) ofan á harda grund, nockut frá læknum; þeir hrucku þar strax ofan j, skoludu sijdan j læknum og fóru. Mörg dæme og 20 sierleg hafa um hann giörst sem hier er oflangt. Sannast þad ordtak, at opt eru skiædir ormar j lygnu vatne.

[Lodinn silungur er forgipt, og med öfugum uggum.³

Wm biartálinn.

Hann er oss alkunnugur, enn sás em j vatne er edur lækium, hann 25 er myklu betri til lækninga enn sá sem úr siónum fæst. Hans rod med þeirri feiti, sem því fylgir, hafi bakvercksmadur yfir um sig og sofi med því j eina ix. edur xi. daga, probatum est. Feiti hans edur smollt heilgræddi konu fætur af franzóss sárum, er ádur hafði óforgrædd verit, og aller voru spilltir under hne 30 upp. Þad reynda eg eirn tijma. Hann drucknar opt af nýu regnvatne, og lætur sig upp flæda úr lækium edur tiörnum. Af honum má og svartan forgifftar orm giöra. Wid ölfýstum. Lát v. álabörn druckna j þess slags öle edur vjne, sem þú villt forda manne, tak þá úr, og gief honum þad öl so hann viti ecki. 35 Þad er og nóglega reynt.

¹ B omits. ² hröckál, A. ³ This sentence is placed in A at the bottom of the page without direct connection with the text above. C has it also, but not BD.

Fugla kynnockur.

Fuglakongur. Músarbródir og ryndill. Hann hefur þá fordíld yfir adra fugla, ad hann verður ecki á jördu drepinn, og skreppur edur hverfur strax undan höggi j jörd nidur, utan á 5 medan hann er j loptinu á hann komi. Hann fordast krosstre j glugga, lifir j holum sem mýs.

Lækiarkrákan, kelldusuijnit. Hún vill j dimmu vera, grefur sig j lækiarbacka, sem undir fönnum eru og ecki friósa. Vid hennar feril er kiendur krákustijgur. Læknarar hallda mikit 10 af hennar smollti eda feiti.

Hrijsenhuijslann. Hún er j skógum. Peir gömlu læknarar höfdu hana til lækninga.

Raudbrýstingurinn, raudkollur og skógarþrösturinn eru allir med skógarfuglum talder.

15 Landfuglar mýra og móa.

Jadraka. Spóe. Lóa. Lóu-þræll. Hrossagaukur. Stelkur. Ódinshani. Riúpa; hún skiptir um litu med missærum; j hennar maga edur fúarne finnst stundum grænn steinn miög lijtil; eirn þeirra hvarf frá mier undarlega. Kióe er sá mesti 20 ránsfugl; ecki er gott at óliettar konur jetti egg hans; hann lifir allðri vid friálsa fædu, helldur gripur wr annars kiapti eda frá bæði á sió og landi, og vinnur það til þess, at hann jetur med hröfnum hesta og hunda j móti vana og edle. So jetur hann og egg allra fugla, sem hann nær, og eirnin egg siálfs sijns, ef 25 honum misliþkar. Það hefi eg sied.

Giæs og álpt hafa skadligann anda, ef þeirra frijsingar koma á menn.

Heimbrijme og lómur geta hvorecki geingit ne stadit, og ecki af jördu uppflogit, eru tiarna fuglar. Heimbryme lijður ógiarn- 30 ann adra fugla á vötnum hiá sier, kemur nedan undir þá og höggur til bana, má því einbúe kallast; hans egg varla jetandi, sem glytia edur skarfs egg, þó fuglarnir sieu ætir. Peirra fætur бага þá frá gangi og stöðu.

Fiörufuglar småer.

Fiölmódurinn, edur selningurinn. Sumir hallda sitthuorn, enn 35 eins stærð, lit og edli hafa þeir; hallda sig vid ystu fiörur á vetur, enn verpur vid fremstu fiälla jöckla á sumarit; hann er fugla meinlausastur, enn óttast þó of margt. Eirnin það, þegar fiörur eru, ad siörinn mune meiga so um sijdir allur upp

þorna, fyrir það líttid sem hann hefur j soddan efaseme uppvíjlat med nefkorne síjnu. Kallast því fiölmóðarvíjll það sem líttid er edur ecki ugðandi. Eru því fuller og kátir um flæðarnar. Þeir hafa góðan dún og lystugt kiöt flæðarveiddir. Gömul Búalög leggja þá stórt hundrad fyrir eyrir, líka sem æðaregg, 5 edur lx. svartfugla úr síófarbiörgum.

Annad smákynit kemur opt med selningum, er vier köllum tilldru, þó med öðrum lit, enn nockru grannare at vexti. Þridia sandmenia, elskar mislita sanda og verpur á þeim, eptir lit sinna eggja; hefur flatt höfud; nokkrir hallda stein j. Þad smæsta 10 fuglakyn kalla menn síófarhrafla, varla þridie partur úr selning. Þar af kalla menn hrafl sniós, þegar jörd er sumstadar ber; hann er fleckóttur med hvíjtt og svart.

Tialldurinn, strandarskatinn. Hans rauda nef ríett sem hníjfur og klíjfur hann upp med því skelfisk, enn höggur ofan j bak 15 óvinum, so þeir óttast hann.

Svartbakur og már; þeir stóru fiörufuglar eru alþýdu vel kunnugir.

Meingadir landfuglar.

Smyrill. Mariu ertla. Steindepla. Þúfutitlingur, vestur. 20 Sniótíjta, meinlaus. Fálki. Krummi. Arnasi, óætir.

Skeriafuglar. Skarfur; þó verpa sumir j biörgum edur urdum, sem kyniader til eru.

Biargfugla kyn hier vj. Ritur. Fíjlingur. Og svartfugla kyn 4. Langvíje, hringvíje. Geirnefur og álka. 25

Eyiafuglar. Lundi, ædar, endur, háhuellur. Sú litla myra edur ört og blákollzönd, med fleirum andakynum, elska meir land enn síó.

Haffuglar. Hafsúlann. Skrofann og haftyrdillinn. Skúmur verpur hier á landi. 30

Wm flugur og orma.

Mý er iij. kyniad, hit smæsta síá at eins glöggskygn augu. Annad nockud stærra, sem er alment og blár farfi er af brendur. Þad þridia er vatzmý, sem silungur eptir sækir, enn það elskar vötninn, og drepst þar so hrannar sem þara. Þá er fluga, sem 35 skiptir lit eptir því sem hún á situr, eru jarðlegar og úr urdum; líjka sem þær kvikne af stad og yl. Madkafuga fædir aflöng egg, vier köllum wijur, og verda af madkar; sieu þeir geymder j horne, verda þar af flugur, þegar vorar, og vill silungur; hún er digur og þyckuaxin so sem hunangsflugur hier. Hunangs- 40

- flugna sköpun siest ógiörla utan hún sie ádur kaffærd j riöma, og meigi sijdann skrijda af sier vid sólar verma; hennar seckur er med huijtan dún, er furda at nockut skule gieta i hann safnast so miótt sem milli er hans og brióstsins, sem heima eiga bædi
 5 fætur og vængir, og þá er þridie partur höfudit med sijnum skörungum. Hún verpur hunangzeggium án skurns og kvikna þar ungar af, fljgur þá huer burt sem búinn er, sumir sijdar. Par eru enn fleyre flugnakyn med adgreindum flugnalit og vexti. Ein er stór og langvaxin, nærri mannz sköpun, med raudum
 10 lærum og tveimur fótum sem á manne, og hanga sijdt nidur, og hefur sierlegann söng, sem ádur kalladist sálufluga, [enn nú hangásfluga,¹ því hún hangir j loptinu. [Nú má ekki nefna um Bonaventuram og soddann dæme gömul, j þessare vorri vtvöldu ordhelginnar gullöld og elskulegu óeiningar landanna.²
- 15 Eiturfluga er löng og mió, med gulum röndum, því kalla menn hana randafugu; hún bijtur menn jlla og hrifur opt j andlit þeim, þá þeir koma nærre hennar hreidre og ungum. Þær sækia því fleyre at manne sem fleyre drepur hann; sumer seigia þar til 18. eru.
- 20 Fidrilldakyn eru hier 4, med adgreindum lit og vexti, eitt so stórt og digurt sem siófarhraffi edur titlings unge; af þeirra náttúrum veit eg ecki at seigia nie minnest úr bókum.

Wm molldorma kyn.

- Allmörg eru þau, en ecki veit eg af þeirra náttúrum at seigia.
- 25 Par eru tveir raudgranar huijtir, miór og digur. Enn sá stóri xij. fóta madkur hann fellur af lopti j sunnanskúrum á sumar; hann er hrafnamatur, drepst j bergvatni enn lifir j molldu. Járnsmidur ungur úr kápu fleiginn þá flýgur hann. Látunsmidur er med látunslit. Jötunoxi er af einu forgiftugu flugorma
 30 kyne; hann bædi flýgur og skrijdur, og skrijdur saman aptur hversu opt sem hann er j sundur skorinn.
- Könguló edur köngurvofa med 4. augum og 8. fótum; hún ber ofar kne enn kvid og hefur opt flugur j klóm sier. Annad köngurvofukyn er med hnöttóttum bols vexti sem afmálat, og
 35 sá orator Franciscus Petrarca til dæmis dregur um hans vefnad og enn vijdar verður j bókum gietid. Pad þridia kynit er dáljtid, er sumir kalla hússdijngil, edur fiskikall, og nær þeir edur smáir ofanfellingar falla j mat, þarf vid sierhueriu hentuga fædu til lækningar. Soddan eru mörg smákyn.

¹ B omits.

² CD omit this.

Í síðfarurdum (sem reyndist á Langanesi) jnne liggja stórir ormar. So eru hier á móum skadligir ormar, litir sem lijng edur gras, menn kalla lijngorm; hans eitur er fliótur manns bane; er digurvaxinn og miög lijkur jördunne.

Í fiállaurdum er sá miöe og hardi, sem giegnum flýgur huad sem 5 fyrir verdur.

Wm watzorma kyn.

Pau eru margháttud, med so margvijslegum litaskiptum sem sandkornin eru i þeim lækium edur ormaövötnum, sem¹ þeir jnne búa. Pau kyn eru mönnum skadlig. Sú jlla vatznadra, 10 ötla, er menn kalla brunlucku, er fliótust til at drepa. Sumt vatzormakyn leggst á lifur manns. Hýdormur liggur j hýde um hávetur, en stundum skrijdur hann út fyrir sinn tijma. Vatzkiettir stórir og vatzlúdur og skötur kvikna hier á sumar, af sólarverma, j grunnum tiörnum, sem upp þorna og vara ecki 15 leingi. Í þeim ormalækium, sem marglitann sand j sier hafa, má hier j julio þeckia bædi scorpionem og mörg önnur kyn þeirra.

[Wm jardarmó og metall á Jslandi, sem einginn vill til neinnar nitsemdar komi, hvorki siálfum sier nie öðrum.²

Þad er j fyrstu vitandi og öllum lióst, ad siö eru metallz kyn, 20 sem málmar af giörast, og veralldar menn vid hiálpast, sem er járn málmur, blý, kopar, tin, eir, silfur, gull.

Mercurius og sulphur reiknast ad vera so sem fadir og módir ad öllum þessum málmakynium, sem sú regla útvijsar þar um giörd. Gietast þar eptir metallz kynin,³ sem jardlendid og 25 móædarnar eru góðar og náttúradar til. So sem járn málm efní j blautri og mollaðra jördu, er vier köllum járnrauda, og þar af j rauda mýri, og⁴ á því vatni fliótandi járnla. Nú hvar sem finst raudrar mýrar vatzuppspretta, verda j því vatni so sem miúk og þvöl lifrarstykki, hvar af verdur kolsvartur litur 30 sem yfir elld kemur og miklu betri og skarpari enn sorta.

Enn þar sem þau mercurius og sulphur hittast j dimmblágrárri [móæd j jördu,⁵ verdur blý, copar j hvijtblágrárri, silfur j hvijtri, eir j grænni, gull j rióðbleikri, sem lijek er fagurriödu manns holldi, og helst undir farveg lækia og brunna, og kallast 35 þessi vij.⁶ kyn so sem viku dagar einninn undir þeim vij. plánetum

¹ Here ends A. The heading in C is: Vmm jardar mó og metall, sem hier i landi er ey brwkadur firer fákunnáttu saker.—This section is continuous of the text in BcD, in C a blank leaf separates it from the text.

² metalla kynin, C. ³ B only. ⁴ móæde jardar, B. ⁵ fiegur, B.

ad vera eptir þeirra lit og náttúru, so sem sólin yfir gullinu, silfrid undir tunglinu, járnid undir Marte, mercurius undir Mercurio, tinid undir Jupiter, kopar undir Venere, enn blý undir Saturno. Enn alchimista bækur kenna ad hreinsa. [Hier j landi eru þó
5 nægst efni þar til, og so siálfur metallinn, enn allir hnidra og úrtelia, so sem fleiru því sem gagnlegt er.¹

J þessum stöðum j Jslandi, veit eg j jardarmó þá materiu vera, er menn kalla hier silfursand, sumur hefur coparzlit, enn sumur er sem huijtt silfur, og eru þaug korn smærri, enn öll
10 eru þaug ferköntud.

Fyrst sá eg þann sem var færður föður mijnum, úr því gile, sem rennur j sió ofan úr Gönguskardafialle, næst Klackgile fyrir innan Klack, og skal vera leingi undir snió, og hátt j fiallinu; fiördurinn heitir Reykiarfiördur j Strandasýslu; þar brutu
15 Spansker skip sijn. Danskur madur frá Bessastöðum var þagad sendur ad siá það nám, ennsá kall sem húsin skyllði liá, [og þar bió, laug j burtu þann danska mann, med eina handfylli þessa silfursandz; það var j mijnu barndæmi j sveit minni.²

Annad námid er j einu melholhti, nordan til j sömu Göngu-
20 skörðum vestan til, þar sem sier fyrst ofan j vijkina Trekkillisviyk, skamt fyrir ofan Raudagil. Kongsjardir eiga allt það fjall.

Par næst kom eg j Mókollsdal, sem silfurbergid fanst forðum upp j fiallinu, fyrer ofan til sudurs frá haugnum; þar er nægd af þeim stóra og besta silfursandi, lijka med coparlit. Par er og
25 nægt af blautri krijt, sem næst geingur bleywijtt,³ og margslags ókiendur mór er þar. Sá fiördur heitir Kollafiördur, sem næstur er Steingrijmsfirde sudur frá honum, hvor ed og so liggur j sömu Hornstrandasýslu.

Madur nockur ad nafni Jón Biörnsson⁴ á Breidabólssstad j
30 Breidafiardardölum, fyrir vestan Bröttubrecku⁵ j Dalasýslu, sýnde mier silfursand þar úr sijnu fialli, hann sagdi, langt fram frá bænum, þó þeim meigin j dalnum.

¹ In the place of this sentence CD have: Meistara Abrions bækur eru fierri, sem læra ad umbreyta náttúrunni sem er meira enn þeckingin, so sem er ad giöra silfur af blýi, gull af kopar, og leita so eptir þeirri fimtu Essentia, og margslags soddan, sem langt er ad telia.—Here B ends. The following paragraphs are inserted here from B which has them in the first section (see above p. 2, note). They are somewhat shorter in CD as will be noted.

² [hann fyllti þess danska manns hendur med þessa materiu edur silfursand, so reisti hann þar strax frá. Enn kallinn sat eptir f náðum. C. ³ blywytt, C. blyhvijtt, D. ⁴ C omits this name. ⁵ B has here: og.

Skamt frá ¹ Styckishólmi, j sömu ² Dalasýslu, er Drápuhljíd-arfiáll; þadan kemur og silfursandur [ber á sliettlendid.³

[J Borgarfirde stóra sunnarlega þar sem heitir Skardsheidi, sú sem liggur milli Móstada og Leirár, og þar nándar bleytur j þeirre Skardsheide, og beggia meigin j fialli því, er nægt af 5 þessum ferköntudu kornum, þó halda þeir best Móstadameigin, edur j siálfum Móstadafleck þeim hvijta, sem þar er nærri millum Indridastada og Móstada j heidinni, er dimmblágrár og grár mór, og þar j þessar agner med silfurlit og coparlit. Akraneszmeigin heitir bærinn under heidinni Skard, sem þessi 10 Skardzheidi er vidkend; þar eru og þessar silfursandz agner j gilenu. So er og miklu vijdar soddan metallz teikn.⁴

I Húnavatnzsýslu, þar sem heiter Kirkiuhvammur á Vatnzesi seigia menn silfursandz nám vera.

[Um Heklu sunnan landz er ádur sagt.⁵

15

Hier j þessari Múlasýslu, sem nú er eg, eru og nockur teikn metalls, þó díúpt sie á, og ýmislegar móædar. Lijka so fieck eg kaupmanni dönskum hier lijted teikn úr eirberge, enn j danska og díúp hafz er eins ad safna, med því má öllum gagnsemdum glata.⁶

20

Anno D. 1637 sem eg kom frá Kaupenhafn, medkiende Indride Jónsson smidur, búandi j Selvogi, er þá var staddur á Bessastöðum, ad hann hefde reynt so góðan íslenskan buris ad kveikia med silfur sem nockurn útlenskan, og eg meina hann hier þó skarpara, enn vijst er hann hier nægri, og fæst án kaupz 25 og arbeidis, þar sem hans nám eru. Lijka so sannadi hann sem fleiri vita, ad salltpetur kæmi þar nólegur upp á sumrum fyrir sunnan, j Krijsuvijkurfiöllum (námum), og ad hann hafi þadan forðumtíjd selldur verid hollendskum.⁷

¹ C. fram, B. ² Omitted in C. ³ Thus all MSS. except B, which has a period after 'silfursandur,' omits ber,' and begins a new paragraph: Ásliettlendid j Borgarfirde, etc. ⁴ This paragraph is thus in C (and D): Í Borgarfirdi nálægt Skardsheidi beggia megin fiallsins finnast og ferköntud korn med látúnslit, sier-eilis á milli Efra Skards og Nedra í skridunni, sem nýhlaupin er. Svo og nordan fram hiá Móstöðum edur í Móstadafleck þeim hvíta, á milli Indridastada og Móstada. Á heidinni er dimmblágrár og grár mór, sem þessar agnir finnast í, sumar med látúnslit en sumar hvítar. ⁵ Omitted in C which has a brief summary of the paragraph printed on p. 1 above. ⁶ Briefly summarized in C, and is there followed by the paragraph about Hekla referred to above. ⁷ C has this paragraph thus: Buris er sagdur hier i landi so góður sem nockurn tíma utanlands edur kanskie skarpari. So og seigia nockrir ad salltpetur komi á sumrum upp í Krísvíkurnámum og hann hafi þadan fyr meir selður verid.

Á Festar Reykium fyrir nordan j Öxarfiardarhierade, og þó
viðjar, kemur salltpetur nólegur upp, við sólskin á sumar, [og
vita þetta Daner, þó j díúpe þeirra síðan sökve sem fleira.¹

Steinkol eru hier viðja j landinu, bædi j Svijnadal j Hvammz-
5 sveit j Dalasýslu, og viðjar annarstadar. Hvað margslagz berg,
edur jardarmór, hier kann finnast, mundi ótrúlegt þykia.

Hvar sem nú er allt þetta ádurgreint til j landinu, þá vantar
ecki til utan meistara þeckingarinnar og reynsluna, edur rannsák
landsins. Nú skal það audvellasta silfurnám nýfundid vera j
10 Kálfafellsfialli j Hornafirdi, af fátækum bónda þar Indrida ad
nafni, [þó einginn ackta vilie það, nie annad landsins gagn.²

¹ Omitted in C. ² C omits.

APPENDIX

I. Extracts from Jón Guðmundsson's treatise on Icelandic plants. (*Cod. Holm.* 64, fol.)

LUNARIA. TUNGLURT. Hún er eitt af þeim kröptugustu lausnargrösum; skal leggja við háls edur leyndardyr, nær kona skal leysast, og burt sviptast strax sem barn er fætt, so að idurin ei fylgi edur fleira enn vera ætti. Probat. Hún á sier borin stendur á móti langsemi, en styrkir unun og skammdægri. Nokkrir halda hana og kalla lásagras. Hún finst opt utan j gömlum túngörðum, edur fornum tóptum, en aldrei j blautlendi, og verður midfingurshá, so sem hrogn eda böllótt korn á annari kvijslinni, en so sem mánarnir¹ á annari. Hún er gul að lit og öll einlit. Hún dugði mier best lækninga forðum, er eg var lagstur af mínum óbærilegum sprengihósta. Jeg tögg hana sem smæst, saman við brennivín og blóðberg *serpillum Latin.*, uppá þýsku *Qwendel*, ecki þó meira enn ljíttinn spón j hvort sinn; var það nógu sterkt. Þar eptir fleck eg aldrei kvef nie hósta j v. ár. Hún er samt öðrum idra grösum meir og optar brúkuð til innvortis lækninga enn til holds eda húðar. Hún ber stundum xij. edur xiiij. lauf sem tungl eru j ári á annari kvijslinni, þar jörð er vel tempruð til; en korn á hinni, so sem það viknatal, sem móðir geingur með sitt fóstur. Nedsti kvistur á kornakvijslinni er og þríkvijsladur og ber mörg korn, hin er upprá stytttri og færri korn á. Grös þurfa aðgætni.

REFILSURTUR.² Kallkyns. Þríjstrendur sem þiel og snarpur ofan eptir strokinn; sá fullkomni hefur fáein smáber j sínum lægri kiðfum, og eru þau blá. Sá kvennkendi er miðkur allur, þó þríjrend stöngin. Hann vex j votu jardlendi. Þeir gömlu töldu hann með náttúrugrösum, þó hann sie einn af þeim fyrirlitnu hiá oss. Í barndómi mínum víska eg eirn gamlan mann af honum seigia, og heyrt hafði hann lesið i vors herra hiervistarbók um grös jardar, sem hann hafði umræðu virðt, bæði jll og góð, *Plantago* ecki sízt og soddan fleiri, og það gras mála þeir gömlu undir krossi vors herra.

OLEANDER, forgiftar. [*Fig.*] Það gras vex hier við Lagarfiót millum Græn-mós og Jörvíjkur rima. Ef peningur biður það gras, deyr það strax og blæs upp og skal vera gulgrænt að lit, og so sem nockuð þvalt átafs, ef það er gnúid. Þar um pláss vaxa og önnur góð og kostuleg grös, sem eg get ecki myndad, nie kann minnast þeirra meðferð, nie náttúrur. Eitt af þeim kalla eg hið stóra sleddugras með sínum eplaböggum so stórum, að þau fylla hnefa nær því. Það er eitt, að eg minnst j þeirri Franckfurtisku herbario, sem j Brædratunguför. Hier er so háttad j landi, að grös aðskilianleg vaxa með sínum hætti j hvörum landsfiðrdungi, þau j öðrum sem ecki eru j öðrum, og er mier ecki mögulegt þeirrar (!) náttúrur að minnast, og nú j elli mier tekst ecki heldur að mynda sem hier vaxa fyrir minni handarridu og á vetrartíjma, en kemst ecki til að uppleita þau hier og hvar, og j fiarska á sumrum, en sýni vilian j því eg get.

II. Um hvalfiskakyn í Íslandshöfum.

(*Cod. Holm.* 64, fol.)

1. Hníðungur hefur hvörki tönn nie tálkn, tíu álna, tuttugu, og þar í milli, velatur og gildur. 2. Hnísur, þriggja edur sið álna, mest taldar, líka

¹ mauragner, Thott 289, 8°. ² Refilssurtur, Thott 289, 8°.

velætar. 3. Höfrungar, átta álna, mest tíu. 4. Svínhvalur, tuttugu og átta álna, mest þríátigi, óætur, hans fitu má eingin skepna melta. 5. Andarnefja (andhvalur), fimm álna, vidlíkur svínhval, ecki betur enn ætur. 6. Hrafnreidur, með tálknum, tuttugu og fiegra álna, mest tuttugu og átta álna, vel ætur með reingi. 7. Háhirningur (hafurhvalur), tentur, átián álna, án reingis. 8. Hvítingar eru helst ókiendir, þó síast þeir hier. 9. Sýldreki, er Nordmenn kalla sýldreka, þríátigi edur fiórutígi álna stærstur, feitur og velætur, hefur reingi. Tálkn hans hálfönnur alin; standa þau föst í efra góm sem öðrum skiepnnum. 10. Búrhvalur, edur nauthvalur, smátentur, fiórutígi álna vel, hefur lxx. tennur, en svínhvalur xxx.; hann er og óheilmæmur líkur svínhval. 11. Sandlægja, verður þríátigi álna, hefur tálkn og er velæt. 12. Slettbakur, án reingis hefur löng skídi, tungu góða og slietta. 13. Sletteblaka, leikur við stýri, verður tuttugu edur xxviii. álna, hefur iij. álna löng skídi, cccc. að fiölda, skiöldóttur með spenum, hvítum sem á kú. 14. Geirreidur góður fiskur, i. edur lv. álna með skíðum og reingi. 15. Hafurkilli [!], hefur netiu, xxx. álna. 16. Hrosshvalur (Rauðkembangur) leitar um höf að tína mönnum, xxix. álna, ei stærri, óætur. Hrosshvalur tvítugur, hann kalla sumir stökkul, hann er lodinn eptir sólhvelium. 17. Rauðkembangur, þrítugur. 18. Náhhvalur, óætur, því að af honum fá menn sótt, og deya, edur hvort annað kvikindi, tvítugur, hræddur við skip; hann hverfur úr katli, hefur tennur í höfði, margar, eina stóra, stendur sú fram úr höfði; hún er fögur og vel vaxin sem kierti; hún verður vij. álna öll sliett talin sem ósliett. 19. Skielungur er ólmur við skip, er þó velætur, með skíðum; hann verður lxx. edur lxxx. álna. 20. Nordhvalur, sumir kalla vatnshval, verður lxxx. edur lxxxx. álna langur, jafndigur mæltur; hans fæda er regn og myrkur, sem fellur af himni, sumir seigia hann lífi við nordurliós; tálkn hans rísa um þverar kverkar, átta álna löng skídi. 21. Hafreidur, lx. álna með skíðum; þenna kalla menn steypireiddi, og seigir Speculum hún verði (100) hundrad álna, stæst af Nordmönnum veidd, sú er var (100) hundrad álnir. 22. Hafgúa er sem mig bítur mest í augum frá að seigia. 23. Rosmhvalur, hefur langa tönn, og hangir á henni framan í síofarbiörgum. 24. Meyfiskur, syngur so fagurt, að síófólk sigrast af hennar hliódum, ef heyrast; þá plögudu Nordmenn að syngja, kveda og róa í ákafa, þá hennar hliód heyrdu. 25. Hafsvelgur, ógrundanlega stór, tekur fæðu einu sinni á ári, og með sinum ropa lockar hann í sinn maga allra handa slags fiska, lýkur so saman sinn munn, þá saddur er, og liggur á meltunni árid um kring til sama munds. 26. Lyngbakur nefnist einn stór fiskur. 27. Hnúfubakur, almennelegur, velætur. 28. Hafurkette hefur horn fram úr hausnum. Þessi hvalakyn eru óæt, að bókmáli reiknud: Sundhvalur,¹ andhvalur, hrosshvalur, rauðkembangur, náhhvalur.

Selakyn eru þessi.

Rostungur xiv. álna. Gransalur, vöðusalur, hafselur, blöðrusalur, látursalur, selakongur, úrta, skemmingur, brimill, etc. Marbendill.

Almennilegt vatnsfiskakyn, sem Íslenskum hefur birst.

Lax, urridi, hængur, birtingur, reidur, brandkvadi (kofa), hornsýl, bjartálar, vatnshrökkáll, óætur, já ecki ríett matarlegur, og nokkud ósætur.

Þetta uppskrifad eftir lausum blöðum.

¹ Thus, probably for: svínhvalur.

NOTES.

P. 1, l. 27ff. Bárður is of course Bárður Snæfellsás concerning whose saga, cf. *Íslandica* I, pp. 4-5.—Hámundur is nowhere else mentioned as a mountain dweller, and the author doubtless has confounded the name of Hámundur heljarskinn (the brother of Geirmundur heljarskinn, whose ghost annoyed him, cf. *Fjölmsöður*, st. 42-44) with that of the outlaw Hallmundur, mentioned in the *Grettis* saga.—About Bergþór, see Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I, pp. 213-14.—Ármann is an eponym of Ármannsfell, about whom later a fictitious saga was written by Halldór Jakobsson (*Icel. Cat.*, p. 277).—Skeggávaldi is a historical character mentioned in the *Hallfreðar* saga and the *Vatnsdæla* saga, but he is first mentioned here as the founder of the people of Áradalur, that imaginary valley mentioned in Icelandic folktales which are derived from J. G.'s own poem, the *Áradalsöður* (publ. in *Huld* IV. 1894, pp. 53-69; cf. *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I, pp. 184-89).

P. 2, l. 26f. This story about birds growing on tangle is an Icelandic counterpart of the legend about the barnacle goose, which was supposed to grow on trees near the shore or on pieces of wood in the sea (cf. Henry Lee, *Sea fables explained*. London 1883. pp. 98-122; Ernst Ingersoll, *Birds in legend and folklore*. New York 1923. pp. 64-66). Such a legend could not be accepted in Iceland, since the barnacle goose (*Anser leucopsis*, *Icel. helsingi*) has its breeding place there. But the Icelanders apparently also took the cirripedes which were seen on sea weed and pieces of wood in the sea and which resembled feathers and wings of birds, to be small birds. About the *sjóðarhrauti*, see also p. 21.—The story of the barnacle goose was not unknown in Iceland; it is mentioned in a MS. of the 18th century (Harvard Univ., Maurer Icel. MS. 26, 40).

P. 3, l. 10ff. For the early literature about Gunnbjarnareyar, or more commonly Gunnbjarnarsker, see *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker* I. pp. 71-134. For the most recent attempt at locating them, see *Meddelelser om Grönland* LVI. 1918, pp. 292-99, where G. Holm identifies them with the islands east of Sermiligak (Erik the Red Island, etc.) in the Angmagsalik District.—'Mastur Juris Trefótur' is Mr. Joris Carolus of Enkhuizen, the Dutch sailor and author of maps and nautical works. He lost a leg in the siege of Ostend, and thereafter became pilot of various Dutch expeditions to the northern seas, first to Spitsbergen and afterwards to Labrador and Davis Strait. On one of these he visited Iceland, and there he wrote a letter, dated at Bessastaðir, Sept. 7, 1625, to the Danish government, offering his services to King Christian IV of Denmark, which was forwarded probably through the offices of Holger Rosenkrantz til Frölinge, at that time governor-general of Iceland (see C. C. A. Gosch, *Danish Arctic expeditions 1605 to 1629*. London 1897. II. p. xlv). After his return to Holland Carolus made in 1626 a map of the Northwestern Atlantic and the countries bordering on it (printed in A. A. Björnbo and C. S. Petersen's *Anecdota cartographica septentrionalia*. Hauniae 1908, facs. xi). No mention is made in this map of the Gunnbjarnareyar, although he doubtless heard of them from the Icelanders on that visit.

But on the map included in his work *Het nieuw vermeerde Licht . . . ende Colom des Grooten Zeewaerts*, Amsterdam 1634, the name 'I. Gonberma' appears which probably is to indicate Gunnbjarnareyar (or possibly Krosseyjar, as pointed out below); it refers there to a group of eight islands directly west of the northwestern peninsula of Iceland, not far off the coast. This group appears under the same name in most of the maps of the latter half of the seventeenth century, e. g. the 'Pas-caerte von Groenlandt,' in Doncker's *Sea-Atlas or the Water-World* (Amsterdam 1660), in Lootsman's *Sea-Atlas or Water World* (Amsterdam 1671), in Pieter Goos' *De Zee-Atlas ofte Water Wereld* (Amsterdam 1672), and in Doncker's *De nieuwe groote vermeererde Zee-Atlas* of 1675. But on all these maps appears also the name 'Goubar Schaar' or 'Goubar Schoer,' referring to an egg-shaped sandbank or shoals west of Breiðifjörð, midway between Iceland and Greenland. Both names evidently owe their origin to the same thing, viz. Gunnbjarnareyar or -sker, Carolus having first introduced them into cartography under the former name, while some later Dutch navigator or cartographer placed them also under the latter name. Both are found on early eighteenth century maps, as for instance in the various editions of Zorgdrager's *Groenlandsche Visschery*, 1720ff. Carolus' information as to churches seen in these islands was presumably communicated to the Icelanders on his visit to their country, and has thus reached our author; but Carolus' veracity has been suspected in other matters, so his testimony in this case, if correctly quoted, tends further to strengthen that suspicion. (About Carolus, see Sir M. Conway, *No man's land*. Cambridge 1897, pp. 74-81, and his article in *Geograph. Journal* XVII. 1901, pp. 623-32.) There was, however, a tradition in Iceland as to these islands being inhabited, which is mentioned by our author and by Björn Jónsson of Skarðsá, the annalist, and this legend, according to the latter, goes back to the account of Björn Jörðsalafari's voyage to Greenland (*Grönl. hist. Mindesm.* I. pp. 110-22).—The name 'Gunnbiarne Skær' appears on J. G.'s map as published by Torfæus, but neither the number of islands nor the definite location is shown there. On his map of the northern regions of 1668 (as publ. by Torfæus) Bp. Þórður Þorláksson places them (Gunbiaer) midway between Iceland and Greenland, and there they apparently are two or three; but on his map of 1668-69 (as redrawn and publ. by K. I. V. Steenstrup, *Geograf. Tidsskrift* VIII. 1886) they are two in number and located virtually in the same place as the Goubar Schaar of the Dutch maps.

P. 3, l. 30ff. Kolbeinsey is known outside of Iceland as Mevenklint and appears so on sixteenth century maps. It is mentioned in the *Landnámabók* whence the author has taken the sailing distance to Hafsbóttnar; what there is meant by Hafsbóttnar is uncertain. According to the *Svarfdæla* saga the island derives its name from a certain Kolbeinn who perished there. In the summer of 1616 three brothers from the northern part of Iceland visited the island at the suggestion of Bp. Guðbrandur Þorláksson and remained there for seven days. This was considered a great feat and a poem was later written about the expedition (publ. in *Blanda* I. 1918-20, pp. 149-62; cf. also Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* II. pp. 125-27; P. Thoroddsen, *Landfrs. Ísl.* I. pp. 215-17).

P. 3, l. 33. As to the location of Hvítserkur opinions differ. F. Nansen

(*In northern mists* I. pp. 294-95) takes it to be one of the glaciers in Greenland, while Sofus Larsen (*Aarb. f. nord Oldk.* 1919, p. 272) suggests that it might be the Kalerajuek mountain on the island of Kulusuk. The tradition as related by J. G. seems to make the latter more probable, and thus it would be on one of the Krosseyar, if we accept G. Holm's theory about their location. On early maps it is often placed midway between Iceland and Greenland.

P. 3, l. 34; p. 4, l. 2ff. Ægiseyar and Ægisland are only known from this description and the author's map; they are also to be found on one of Bp. Þórður Þorláksson's maps (that in the Söskortarkiv of Copenhagen, publ. by Steenstrup), but there they presumably were placed on J. G.'s authority. On the maps they are in a straight line northeast of Iceland, and although the author here uses the plural Ægiseyar, both his map and that of Bp. Þórður use the singular Ægisey and present accordingly only one island. Since the names are not mentioned elsewhere it is not likely that they were commonly known in Iceland, but they can hardly be the author's own invention; their origin is probably traceable to vague rumors which reached Iceland about the discoveries of English and Dutch navigators and whalers in the northern seas during the earlier half of the sixteenth century, and I am inclined to think that they represent Jan Mayen and Spitsbergen; to be sure, the author uses in another connection the latter name (p. 4, l. 15) but visibly without any idea of what it really meant. The various names applied to Jan Mayen and Spitsbergen in those days were also bewildering and misleading. Jan Mayen was probably first seen by Henry Hudson on his southward voyage in 1607, and he named it Hudson's Touches; in 1611 or 1612 whalers from Hull saw it and called it Trinity Island, a name which frequently is met with on seventeenth century maps, and was generally used by the English. In 1612 Jean Vrolicq, the Basque whaler (who is known to have fished off Iceland several years later), also laid claim to discovering it, and he called it Isle de Richelieu. In 1614 Joris Carolus saw the island and modestly named it Mr. Joris Eylandt, while he called one of the capes there Jan Mayes Hoek in honor of the captain of his ship, and this was later applied to the island itself, and on Carolus' map of 1634 it is actually called Jan Mayen, but throughout the century the Dutch usually called it Mauritius Eylandt. In 1615 Robert Fotherby gave it the name of Sir Thomas Smith's Island, but that was little used. There is no evidence of J. G.'s knowing any of these names, but Bp. Þórður knew that of Jan Mayen which is found on both of his maps. And it seems probable that some information about this island reached Iceland in the earlier decades of the century and that that may have given rise to the story about Ægisey (or Ægiseyar), although it does not explain the name, which however may be purely arbitrary. It is also to be noticed that on many early maps an unnamed island appears between Iceland and Jan Mayen; on only one of those maps I have seen, that of the Arctic regions by Hondius, is this island called 'I. D. Leuersteyns hope eylant.' Although the first initial is different, this may refer to Adrien Diricksen Leffuerstein, the leader of the expedition to the Northwest in 1625 of which Carolus was a pilot. But I have not been able to find any thing more about this island. J. G.'s information about Ægiseyar is so scanty and indefinite that it is difficult to make any conclusion as to what is meant thereby, but it is not unlikely that it refers to Jan Mayen.

With Ægisland it is different. In the author's description of it there are various things which point to its standing for Spitsbergen. I do not lay any stress upon the fact that the author identifies this with Svalbarð, a name which by some is supposed to have been applied to Spitsbergen by the old Icelanders. The name Priest Island (Prestey) I can not account for, since I have found no such name in English sources, while Egerlandt might merely be a corruption of the Dutch 'Eylandt.' The nomenclature of Spitsbergen offers somewhat similar confusion as that of Jan Mayen, and that may have misled many in Iceland as elsewhere. Discovered in 1596 by Barents, he gave it the name of Spitsbergen, but in some of the earliest Dutch maps it is called just 'Het nieuwe land' or 'Nieu land.' The English were reluctant to recognize its discovery by the Dutch, and therefore called it 'King James' his Newland,' or Greenland, a name which they used throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, partly because some believed in the beginning that it actually was a part of Greenland, and partly because it suited them, especially the Muscovy Company, to maintain that fiction in their competition with the Dutch for the whaling and fisheries there. In the twenties and thirties of the seventeenth century King Christian IV of Denmark and Norway claimed sovereignty over Spitsbergen and decreed that it should be called Christiansbergen, but little attention was paid to that. Some news of all this must have reached Iceland, and probably forms the basis for the story about Ægisland, but this name can not be explained from any of the others, the only one which has some similarity of sound to it is Edges Island, discovered by Thomas Edge in 1616 and named after him, but the possibility of any connection between the two seems too remote. The description which J. G. gives of the attractive features of Ægisland represents the usual exaggerations about new and little known lands, a flight of the imagination so common in early accounts of geographical discoveries. Other details in his account are directly applicable to Spitsbergen, as when he says that 'the Danish Jørgen (Jurgin) had been there five weeks in 1635' which doubtless refers to some Dane by that name who was a member of one of the expeditions sent there in those years. Thus Scoresby (*The Arctic Regions* II. p. 167) tells us that in 1636 Danish vessels were there looking for gold and silver while they neglected the fisheries. But we are at loss to explain the author's statement that the country was discovered five years before by the Dutch, since no discovery is recorded anywhere else in that year, the only outstanding event of 1630 being the first wintering in Spitsbergen by an European crew, but they were English and not Dutch; this, however, may be the underlying fact for the author's statement. 'The separate island' of which he speaks might easily be either Amsterdam Island or Danes' Island, preferably the latter. Furthermore it is correct that both the English and the Dutch wished to establish permanent habitation in Spitsbergen. The Muscovy Company, some time between 1625 and 1630, tried to induce convicts to settle there, but in the autumn they preferred hanging to remaining there during the winter. The plan of making Laps settle there also miscarried. The Dutch attempts at permanent settlements likewise led to nothing. (For the early history of Spitsbergen, see Sir M. Conway's *No man's land*. Cambridge 1897.)

How meagre the information was which reached Iceland about those dis-

coveries may be judged from the entries in Björn Jónsson's (of Skarðsá) annals. In 1596, he says, the Dutch sailed north into the Arctic Ocean, though in vain (having there probably in mind their failure of finding the northeast passage); in 1597 a Dutch fleet was fitted out for the Baltic (!) to seek new lands. He records King Christian IV's voyage round North Cape in 1602, and in 1605 he mentions the three ships which rediscovered Greenland (*Annálar*. Hrappey 1774, p. 162, 164, 174, 177). Some of the unprinted annals possibly contain something more about this.

P. 4, l. 23ff. The skerries here referred to are doubtless Færabakur and Hvalsbakur; the latter of these rises above the water and is shown on early English maps, but usually at a greater distance from land and farther to the south than it actually is. Possibly to these skerries can be traced the legendary Enchuyzen Eylandt, generally represented as a group of one large and eight smaller islands, which appears first on Carolus' map of 1634 ('Enchuyser Eylant ondet A° 1617') and from there found its way into later maps of the century (Pieter Goos' of 1662; Jacob Colom's of 1663; and Doncker's of 1664, etc.); it is placed between Iceland and the Faroes. On one of his trips to the north, Carolus claimed to have discovered two islands, New Holland between 60° and 63° N., and Opsdam Island in lat. 66° N. twenty Dutch miles east of Iceland (see Conway, *op. cit.* p. 80). It is this latter which has developed into Enchuyzer Eylandt (Carolus was from Enkhuizen). The name was carried into eighteenth century maps; thus on a French Admiralty map of the Northern Atlantic, dated 1767, stands 'Isle Enchuysen, douteuse', this was changed in an edition of the following year to 'Isle Enchuysen, extremement douteuse,' and that is probably the last we see of it. Presumably the whole thing was an invention of Carolus'.

P. 4, l. 25f. It shows J. G.'s ignorance of the southeast coast that he knows of no islands off it from Horn to Reykjanes except Vestmannaeyar.

P. 4, l. 27. Villi Fríslanð is, of course, Frislandia, the fabulous land of the Zeno map. The author styles it thus in order to distinguish it from Fríslanð which is the Icelandic name for the southeast coast of the North Sea (Frisia, Friesland).

P. 4, l. 32. Whether *eyjapústur* is a noun meaning a group of islands, or a proper noun, is not absolutely clear from the context. I have taken it to mean the former, being a compound of *eyja-* (gen. plur.) and *-pústur*, meaning bundle or group (cf. *hálmþústur*; Norw. *tuste*, and Icel. *pústa*, translated by Torp as 'klynge set i det fjerne, uformelig stimmel'). Off Reykjanes islands and skerries have appeared and disappeared from time to time. In 1613 Biscayans claimed to have discovered an island south of there, and this is shown on many seventeenth century maps. Also the legendary island of Buss was supposed to lie somewhere in that direction.

P. 5, l. 2ff. For the early history of the Krosseyar, see *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker* I. pp. 135-49. From the description of them here and the location given to them, it is easy to see, that they might be confused with the Gunnbjarnareyjar, and they presumably figure among these under the name of 'Goubermans Eylanden' on the foreign maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as mentioned above. They do not appear on J. G.'s map, nor on that of Bp. Þórður as published by Torfæus, while in the map published by

Steenstrup they are seen directly west of Breiðfjörð. In *Meddelelser om Grønland* LVI. pp. 299–306, G. Holm has tried to show that they probably were identical with the islands east of the Sermilik (Angmagssalik Island, etc.), on the east coast of Greenland, which seems plausible. The story about the floating eiderdown (ll. 7–8) is also mentioned by Björn of Skarðsá.

P. 5, l. 12. This *fuglasker* is now unknown. On Joris Carolus' map of 1626 apparently Látrabjarg itself is marked 'Vogelbergh' and this is found in other maps of that century and the following.

P. 5, l. 17. The name of Bláserkr occurs in the early sagas of Greenland. For a discussion of its location, see F. Nansen, *In northern mists* I. pp. 291–96.

P. 5, l. 19. Rev. Einar Snorrason (called Ölduhryggjarskáld) died 1538.

P. 5, l. 27. The law-code here referred to is the *Jónsbók* (see the ed. of 1904, p. 197).

P. 5, l. 31. The name *hafskerðingur* for *Selache maxima*, I have not found elsewhere (cf. B. Sæmundsson, *Íslands Fiske*, 1908, pp. 113–115; P. Thoroddsen, *Lýsing Íslands* II, pp. 570–71). The story (p. 6, l. 7) of its using the dorsal fin for cutting up boats is doubtless without foundation (cf. F. Faber, *Fische Islands*, 1829, p. 23), and recalls a similar one told about the killer whales that they use their long and pointed dorsal fin for ripping up the belly of a whale (cf. F. E. Beddard, *A book of whales*. New York 1900, pp. 287–88).

P. 6, l. 11ff. The smallest *hnísa* is doubtless the common porpoise (*Phocaena communis*) while the other two are some of the various species of *höfrungar*, of which at least four have been found near Iceland, viz. *Delphinus delphis*, *D. tursio*, *D. albirostris*, and *D. acutus* (cf. Thoroddsen, *Lýs. Ísl.* II. pp. 480–82).

P. 6, l. 22ff. According to Thoroddsen (*op. cit.* II. p. 484) the Icelandic names for the grampus (*Orca gladiator*) are *háhyrningur*, *barberi*, *sverðfiskur*, and *vagnhvalur*, while nowadays *hafurhvalur* does not seem to be used. This name occurs in the Snorra Edda, in one MS. of the Spec. reg., and in an Icelandic document of 1308 (*Dipl. Isl.* II. p. 362). Nordgaard (*Norsk Fiskeritid.*, XXII. pp. 83–84) has tried to show that it probably was used of a shark (*háskerðingur*), that it originally was used about a male whale of whatever species, and became synonymous with *hafurkitti* (cf. *Festskrift til Helland*, 1916, p. 216; see below).

P. 6, l. 26ff. The author's description of the *skjaldhvalur* seems to point to one of the genus *Orca*, although the white spots on the killer whales have not the roundness of a shield, but are elliptical, whence they have been fancifully interpreted as adpressed horns (cf. Beddard, *op. cit.* p. 290). Nordgaard (XXII. p. 17) thinks that it is some kind of dolphin.

P. 6, l. 31ff. Guldberg (*Zool. Annal.* I. pp. 35–36) and Nordgaard (XXII. p. 14) have identified the *vögnhvalur* of the Spec. reg. (Snorra Edda uses *vögn*) as the *Orca gladiator*, which is supported by Icelandic usage (cf. above). But the description given here does not seem to apply to that powerful and rapacious animal, and points rather to the pilot whale (*Globicephalus melas*; cf. Beddard, *op. cit.*, p. 280ff.). However, the description of it by Bp. Gísli Oddson (*Islandica* X. p. 46) evidently fits the grampus.

P. 7, l. 5ff. *Hnýðingur* is apparently used in Iceland indiscriminately of porpoises. Nordgaard (pp. 12–13) and Guldberg (p. 35) think it is a name for the *Globicephalus melas*, for which, see Thoroddsen, pp. 482–84.

P. 7, l. 8ff. *Hvítíngur*, *mjallur*, or *mjaldur* is the white whale, or beluga (*Delphinopterus leucas*), see Thoroddsen, pp. 484–85. The story about its revenge, where, however, *sleypireyður* is substituted, is printed in Jón Porkelsson, *Þjóðsögur og munnmáli*, 1899, p. 371.

P. 7, l. 22ff. *Andarnefja*, the bottlenose (*Hyperoodon rostratum*, or *diodon*), see Thoroddsen, p. 487.

P. 7, l. 32ff. I have not been able to find any use of the word *svínhvalur* in Icelandic at the present time, except what Nordgaard tells (*Festskrift*, pp. 213–14) that it is sometimes used there of the *Balæna glacialis*, but the description given here could in no way fit that whale. The word occurs in the Spec. reg., and Torfæus (*Grönl. antiq.* 1706, p. 90) mentions it as different from the *andarnefja*. Both Guldberg (p. 36) and Nordgaard (XXII. pp. 13–14) have, however, concluded that these were synonyms. J. G. considers them to be different, and evidently knew the *svínhvalur*, and his description of its teeth can be relied upon as that was his particular field (cf. his nickname, *tannsmiður*). But it is not clear from his work that he knew the *andarnefja* as well, although this was rather common in Iceland at that time; so perhaps his distinguishing between the two is not conclusive. But if the two are different, could *svínhvalur* not be a name for one of the genus *Mesoplodon*? The picture of the head of Sowerby's whale (*M. sowerbiensis*, or *bidens*) as given by W. Andrews (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. XXIV. I. 1871) has a great likeness to a boar's head, with the teeth showing (the specimen being a male).

P. 8, l. 8ff. *Búrghvalur*, the sperm whale, or cachalot (*Physeter macrocephalus*), see Thoroddsen, pp. 487–88.

P. 8, l. 18ff., l. 20ff. The words *rauðkemingur* and *hrosshvalur* occur in the Spec. reg., and Nordgaard (XXI. pp. 788–92) argues very plausibly that they both originally applied to the walrus, and when this became scarce, they gradually came to mean two particularly vicious whales of a fabulous character.—The *rauðkemingur* figures in Icelandic folklore and is there also known as *faxi* (cf. ÍBmf. 21 fol.), a common name for a horse of a certain combination of colors, and it is also described as being like a horse (see Jón Porkelsson, *Þjóðsögur*, etc., 1899, pp. 89–90). It is curious to note that in J. G.'s drawing of it, it has a mane somewhat similar to that shown on early pictures of the walrus, e. g. that accompanying Rob. Fotherby's description of Greenland, that is Spitsbergen (see *Purchas his Pilgrims*, III. 1906, ad p. 32). Ben. Gröndal's suggestion (*Tímarit Bmfél.* XIV. pp. 133–34) that the legends about the *rauðkemingur* were derived from sailors' tales about giant squids, is improbable.

Sophus Bugge has shown (*Arkiv f. nord. filol.* I. pp. 20–21) that *hrosshvalur*, in the meaning of walrus, has passed from Old Norse into other languages, although in the written records of Norway and Iceland distinction is made between *hrosshvalur* and *rostungur* or *rosmhvalur*. J. G. uses here *stökull* (cf. Torfæus, p. 94) and *blökuhvalur* as synonyms. The former is now commonly used of porpoises or dolphins, and there are many stories in Iceland about *stöklar* (cf. Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I. pp. 629–30), but they are in folktales different from the *hrosshveli* which has the form of a horse and neighs (J. Árnason, *op. cit.* p. 629, cf. also pp. 88–89, where a man is turned into a

hrosshveli). *Stökkull* has somewhere been identified as *Grampus griseus* (cf. Beddard, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–86). Björn Halldórsson makes *blökufisk* identical with *léttir* which he defines as *balæna gædam minuscula, qvæ supra libellam maris multas orgyas se elevare posse á piscatoribus refertur; exteris videtur physiter vel orca*. Thoroddsen thinks (p. 481) that *léttir* is used probably for *Delphinus acutus*, while Bj. Sæmundsson (*Dýrafraði*,² 1923, p. 43) knows it as a name of the *hrafnnreyður* (*Balænopt. rostr.*), which shows how uncertain the nomenclature is. *Blæjuhvalur*, mentioned in Snorra Edda, is probably synonymous with *blökuhvalur*, as in popular parlance *blæja* and *blaka* often mean the same (cf. however about this, Norgaard in *Festskrift*, p. 217). In the medieval legend of St. Brandan I have not found the story told here about the saint's prayer. The only occurrence on his voyage which has a resemblance to this is when they were attacked by a griffin, and in answer to their prayers, a bird came and smote out the eyes of the griffin and afterwards killed it (see *St. Brandan, a medieval legend about the sea*, ed. by T. Wright. London 1844, p. 47). In the extant fragment of the Old Norse saga of the saint this is not to be found. The story probably goes ultimately back to sailors' yarns about flying fishes.

P. 8, l. 31. *Hafgufa* is described in Spec. reg. (cf. *Heilagra manna sögur* I. pp. 274–75), and is also mentioned in Snorra Edda. In the Örvar-Odds saga (*Fornaldarsögur*, II. pp. 248–49) a distinction is made between *lyngbakur* and *hafgufa*. Cf. Fritzner² *sub voce* 'hafgufa,' and Nordgaard (*op. cit.* XXII. pp. 11–12).

P. 8, l. 35ff. *Náhuvalur*, Narwhale (*Monodon monoceros*) is rather uncommon in Iceland (cf. Thoroddsen, pp. 485–87). It was partly on information from Iceland that Dr. Ole Worm based his description of the narwhale, where for the first time it was established that the various specimens of the horn of the unicorn were really teeth of this whale (cf. *Museum Wormianum*, 1655, pp. 282–87).

P. 9, l. 12. *Sandlægja* is mentioned in Snorra Edda, and Torfæus also describes it (*op. cit.* pp. 92–93). It is doubtless identical with *sandæta*, mentioned by Bishop Þórður Þorláksson (*Diss. chorogr.-hist. de Isl.* 1670, f. 16b). Nordgaard (*Festskrift til Helland*, p. 218) makes no suggestion as to its identification. *Sandreyður* is the common name at the present day in Iceland for *Balænoptera borealis*, hence one might be inclined to connect the two names, and the explanation of the first part of the compound to be found in the fact that this whale is fished from shore (cf. Beddard, *op. cit.* p. 156), but in J. G.'s drawing of the *sandlægja*, it lacks the high dorsal fin which is characteristic of the *sandreyður*.—Jón Eiríksson says (*Kongsskuggsio*, 1768, p. 123) that the *andarnefja* is some times called *sandæta* 'af at æde Sandet.'

P. 9, l. 17ff. *Sléttbakur* (or *sléttibaka*, Spec. reg.), the Atlantic right-whale (*Balæna biscayensis*, or *australis*), is seemingly also known in Iceland as *hafurkiitti* (Thoroddsen, p. 492, and Sæmundsson, *Dýrafraði*,² p. 44; cf. below), and in some places even as *svínhvalur* (see above).

P. 9, l. 28ff. *Skeljungur*, more commonly known as *hnúfubakur*, the hump-backed whale (*Megaptera boops*, or *M. longimana*), see Thoroddsen, pp. 491–92. J. G. evidently implies that the name *svarfhvalur* is derived from the method of scaring it by flying. I have found the word *svarfhvalur* only in a document

of 1397 (*Dipl. Isl.* IV. p. 218), and I suspect that it stands there in stead of *starfhvalur* (cf. *Dipl. Isl.* V. p. 278). In any case it must have some other origin than that suggested by the author.

P. 10, l. 3ff. *Norðhvalur*, now also known as *Grænlandshvalur*, the Greenland, or right whale (*Balæna mysticetus*). Cf. Thoroddsen, pp. 492-93.

P. 10, l. 20ff. *Hrafnreyður*, now also called *hrefna*, *hnýsfill*, and even *léttir*, the lesser rorqual (*Balænoptera rostrata*) is doubtless identical with the *hrafnhvalur* of Spec. reg. (Thoroddsen, pp. 488-89; cf. also Sæmundsson, *Dýrafraði*,² p. 43).

P. 11, ll. 1-2ff. *Geirreyður*, and *sildreki*, or *fiskreki* are presumably synonyms for the common rorqual (*Balænoptera musculus*) which now is also commonly called *langreyður* (Thoroddsen, pp. 489-90). The only difference between them in J. G.'s drawings seems to be the shape of the dorsal fins. The corresponding names of the Spec. reg., *geirhvalur* and *fiskreki*, Nordgaard takes to refer to the *B. rostrata*, but the Icelandic usage ought to be conclusive.

P. 11, 10ff. The author has inserted here the description (ll. 10-12) of the *hafurkitti* found in the Spec. reg., upon which Guldberg and Nordgaard (XXII. pp. 21-22) based their conclusion that the name probably referred to a shark (the *háskerðingur*, thus being synonymous with *hafurhvalur*, see above); but lately Nordgaard has modified this (*Konungs skuggsjá* 1920, pp. 111-12) and takes it to refer to the *beinhákkall* (*Selache maxima*). This is contradicted, at least as far as Icelandic usage goes, by the further description which J. G. gives of the animal as he saw it, and seemingly nowadays *hafurkitti* is used synonymously with *sléttbakur* (see above), but I doubt if J. G.'s description of its appearance would fit the latter; his drawing of the *hafurkitti* shows a greater resemblance to the *sildreki*.—The word has doubtless changed meaning. In Icelandic is found the word *kathveli*, now, to be sure, signifying a fabulous whale, but which may earlier have been used as a name for some whale, and although the word is not to be found in the old literature, it may very well have been used in early times. The male of this whale was probably called *hafurkitti* (or *-kytti*), which would be in conformity with Nordgaard's suggestion (*Festskrift*, p. 216) that *hafurhvalur* originally meant a male whale without reference to any particular species. *Kathveli*, *ketta*, and *kitti* might be synonyms, and the second also used about the female whale in particular (cf. Old Norse-Icel. *ketta*, she-cat, and likewise a name of a giantess). Blöndal (*Dansk-isl. Ordbog*) gives *hafurketti*, *hafurkylli*, and *hafurkitti* as names of the *sléttbakur*.

P. 11, 17ff. *Hafreyður* is evidently a whale of the genus *Balænoptera*; it has been used synonymously with *steypireyður* (cf. Thoroddsen, p. 490).

P. 11, l. 26ff. *Steypireyður* (*Balænoptera gigas*, or *B. sibbaldii*) is common round Iceland (cf. Thoroddsen, *op. cit.* II. pp. 490-91), and many stories have been current there about it. What the author tells (p. 12, l. 15ff.) about the whale which brought its calf every year to Ólafur of Æðey, has a resemblance to the belief which Thoroddsen noticed in the Westfjords, that the same female whales came into the fjords every other year; people asserted that they recognized them by certain characteristics and nicknamed them (*Ferðabók* II. p. 118).

In *Tilfjörðríf* (AM. 727, 4to) J. G. has another reference to the whaling of

his ancestor as follows: 'Pegar Biörn bónde (ecke Skardz Biörn ríki helldur) Jórsalafari, fadir Vatnsfiardar Kristínar, var teptur í Grænlandi með skip og fólk, þá hafði gamall prestur halldid biskupzstólinn og vígt prestana. Þá lietu þeir Biörn bónda hafa Eiríksfiardar sýslu, og hversu marga framparta af sauda slátri hann fíek í gíaftolla var eirnenn greint í þeirre Reisubókar korni. Jeg var þá barn nær fadir minn hafði hana, og man því næsta líftid þaraf. Þar fanst þá reidur með skoti Ólaf bónda í Æðey á Ísafirdi og náði bóndi þar þeim skotmannzhlut, sem hann þurfti matar við fyrir fólk sitt. Guðrún dóttir þessa sama bónda var að sönnu, sem mín ættarbrief hlióða, módir Þormóðar Salomonssonar, mínz langafa. Jeg ólst upp hiá Hákonu Þormóðs-syni mínum föðurföður. Jeg hafði xxij. þegar hann sofnadi vel um áttæðis-alldur. Þá vill alldur þeirra Þormóðz og Hákonar vera vel tvenn áttatiger ár, en Þormóður var yngstur og mestur Salomonssona, en hitt er óvíst, hvad gömul Guðrún hefur verid, þegar Biörn bóndi var á Grænlandi. Þórdur Eigelzson sigldi til Grænlandz og aptur til Noregs með stórmikid gótz 1344. Síðan hafa menn einginn viss brief um biskupa þar, eða önnur viss tíðindi. Það vill þá hafa verid 6 ár nú fyrir miklu plágu.' This passage makes it clear that the author knew the *Reisubók* of Björn Jórsalafari (ca. 1350-1415), and that Ólafur of Æðey and he were contemporaries.

P. 13, l. 26ff. About the walrus in Iceland, see Thoroddsen, pp. 466-71.

P. 14, l. 5f. *Skemmingur* is mentioned in Spec. reg. and Nordgaard (*Festskrift*, p. 221) thinks it means the ringed or marbled seal (*Phoca hispida*) which now is unknown in Iceland. *Selakongur* has been variously used (cf. S. Blöndal, *Isl.-dansk Ordbog*, sub voce).

P. 14, l. 7f. *Láturselur*, or *landselur*, the common seal (*Phoca vitulina*). Cf. Thoroddsen, pp. 472-73.

P. 14, l. 9ff. *Vígraselur* is now generally known as *útselur*, the grey seal (*Halichoerus gryphus*), and is therefore probably the same as No. 5 (ll. 16-17). In the list of seals printed on p. 28, the word *úrta* (*urta*) and *brimill* signify the female and the male respectively of this species. Cf. Thoroddsen, pp. 474-75.

P. 14, l. 14f. *Blöðruselur*, the hooded or bladder-nosed seal (*Cystophora cristata*). Cf. Thoroddsen, p. 479.

P. 14, l. 18ff. The most common name now is *vöðuselur*, the Greenland seal (*Phoca groenlandica*). Cf. Thoroddsen, pp. 475-78. *Hafselur* (see p. 28) is now also used. Bp. Gísli Oddsson (*Isl. X.* p. 47) says that it is also colloquially called *skemmingur*.

P. 14, l. 25ff. *Granselur* is doubtless a mistake for *granselur* (cf. p. 28), the bearded seal (*Phoca barbata*); cf. Thoroddsen, p. 479.

P. 14, l. 28ff. For the account of this voyage, see *Hauksbók*, 1892-96, pp. 500-01.—There are many stories about polar bears in Iceland; see Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I. pp. 608-11. The polar bear is also called *rauðkinni*, or *rauðkinnungur*. See Thoroddsen, pp. 461-66.

P. 15, l. 26. Bj. Sæmundsson (*Isl. Fiske*, p. 35, 63) uses the name *blágóma* for *Anarrhichas latifrons*, and for *Motella cimbria*, while Gröndal (*Isl. fiskatal*, p. 49) says it is the angler (*Lophius piscatorius*). For superstitious beliefs about it, see Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I. pp. 635-36.

P. 15, l. 27ff. The *vogmeri*, or dealfish (*Trachypterus arcticus*) is not un-

common around Iceland (cf. Bj. Sæmundsson, *Isl. Fiske*, pp. 24–26). For the story of Viðfinna (or Vilfríður) Völufegri and its variants, see Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* II. pp. 399–407, and A. Ritterhaus, *Die neuisl. Volksmärchen*, 1902, pp. 118–26. (cf. Bolte u. Polivka, *Anmerk. zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* I. 1913, pp. 450–64).

P. 16, l. 10f. *Hámúsin*, king of the herrings (*Chimæra monstrata*) is usually called either *háfmús* (Olavius, Gröndal) or *hafmús* (Sæmundsson, Thoroddsen).

P. 16, l. 26ff. *Brimbútur* (*Cucumaria frondosa*), cf. Thoroddsen, p. 590.—P. 17, l. 6. *þeim falska*, etc. refers, of course, to Ólafur Pétursson.

P. 17, l. 9ff. *Halafiskur*, cuttle-fish, or cephalopod, is now generally called *smökkfiskur*, see Thoroddsen, pp. 583–86.

P. 17, l. 16. *Knurri* is doubtless the same as *urrari*, or *kurrari* (Dan. *Knurhane*, *Trigla gurnardus*), cf. Sæmundsson, *Isl. Fiske*, p. 20.

P. 17, l. 23ff. *Rá* is found in no dictionary; it is probably the same as Danish *Reje*.

P. 18, l. 11. The author refers to *basilískt hana egg* as something familiar, but the expression is misleading. *Basiliscus* (basilisk, basilicock, or cockatrice; for description see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* IX. 21 (33)) is a fabulous reptile alleged to be hatched by a serpent from a cock's egg; its name is said to be derived from βασιλεὺς because it had on its head a certain comb or coronet, and it is to this J. G. refers. The word *Basiliscus* is retained in Bp. Guðbr. Þorláksson's version of the Bible (Is. 14, 29, and 59.2; Jer. 8, 17). The corresponding animal in Icelandic folklore is, however, the *skoffín* which also is hatched from an old cock's egg and kills with its looks (see J. Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I. p. 613).

P. 18, l. 16ff. I have not seen elsewhere in Icelandic the *hörpudiskur*, or the scallop-shell (Pecten) called *St. Jakobsskel* (cf. German *Jacobsmuschel*), the name was probably not generally used in Iceland. This shell was the symbol which the pilgrims to St. Jago di Compostella wore. 'From the thirteenth century he [viz. St. James] always bears in one hand the Holy Gospels, and in the other a long pilgrim's staff, sometimes with a gourd or a script attached to it. . . . Frequently he wears the flapped hat and cloak of a pilgrim, adorned with scallop-shells in allusion to the pilgrimages made to his shrine at Compostella' (Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, July II. p. 553). The origin of the symbol is not known.

P. 18, l. 35f. About *skerinn*, see Thoroddsen, *Lýs, Ísl.* II. p. 589; *Ferðabók* II. p. 138, cf. *Lfrs. Ísl.* II. p. 88, 97.

P. 19, l. 10ff. About the *hrökkáll*, see Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðs.* I. p. 636; Mohr, *Isl. Naturhist.* 1786, pp. 62–63; E. Ólafsson, *Reise*, 1772, p. 596.

P. 19, l. 23. Cf. Árnason, *op. cit.* II. pp. 636–37.

P. 20, l. 2ff. About the *rindill*, see Árnason, *op. cit.* II. p. 625.

P. 20, l. 7ff. About the *kelduvín*, see Árnason, *op. cit.* II. pp. 625–26.

P. 20, l. 11. The word *hrtsihvísla* I have not seen elsewhere, except in an 18th cent. MS. (Harvard Lib., Maurer Icel. 26, 40), where it is synonymous with *skógarþröstur*.

P. 20, l. 35ff. The *fjölmdður* (*Tringa maritima*) is of particular interest since J. G. has named his autobiographical poem (see above) after this small bird. It is interesting to compare his description of its behavior to that by Bernh. Hantzsch, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Vogelwelt Isl.* 1905, pp. 238–39.

P. 21, l. 11f. For *sjófarhrafi*, see above note to p. 2. I believe the word is not otherwise known. The author's explanation of the phrase *hrafi snjó*s is significant, as it suggests sea-weed or a piece of wood covered with cirripeds; of course this is not the origin of the phrase.

P. 21, l. 20. What the author means by *meingadur* may be guessed at from the passage on the *mariuerla*, the white wagtail (*Motacilla alba*), in his *Tíðfordríf* (AM. 727, 4to, ff. 6ab): 'Mariuertlu að drepa er strákum einum og luckulausum giðrande, því hún er eitruð og hefnifugl. Hún klagar víst eptir sinn maka í iij. ár. Eitt vor hart hafði ein nijkomin af hafi króknad af kulda, hún var mjer færð. Í hennar fúarne edur maga fann eg stein suartann með undarligu verki, því líkast sem báru og röggvar á saudarlaka. . . . Par eru og fleiri fuglakyn, sem eru forgiftug, sem soddan óþola fiadrer hafa í sinu víeli eða vinstapa, og so þau grabla hiúp ofan á axlir með lodkuijsludu fidri, so sem að er steindeplann, en þó forstutt og huijtt víelið, utann það þolir allðri kyrtt, eins og á mariuertlu. Þesser báder fuglar flíuga under fie.—Surtarbrandur j kuijavegg látinn skal steindeplu burt rijma. Mariuertlu egg plögudu þeir gömlu ecki öðruvijs að fordiarfa enn so að taka hreidrid með öllum eggium og fleita undan á síð edur stórvötn.' Cf. however, Jón Árnason, *Ísl. þjóðsögur* I. pp. 624–25.—*Steindepill* is now always used for *steindepla*.

P. 21, l. 34. There are two passages in Petrarch's works which the author may have reference to, viz. Sonnet 173 (Carducci and Ferrari's ed.):

Poi, trovandol di dolce e d' amar pieno,
Quant' al mondo si tesse, opra d'aragna
Vede; . . .

or, Trionfo dell' eternità, ll. 103–05:

Credo io che s'avvicini, e de' guadagni
Veri e de' falsi si fara ragione;
Che tutti fien allor opre d'aragni.

P. 24, l. 15. Refers to the Spanish (Basque) whalers, who were wrecked in 1615, see above, p. viiif.

P. 24, l. 22ff. About the clay of Mókollsdalur, see Egg. Ólafsson, *Reise* 1772, p. 393; Olavius, *Oeconomisk Reise* 1780. pp. 566–67; Mohr, *Isl. Naturhist.* 1786, pp. 287–93; Thoroddsen, *Ferðabók* II, pp. 46–47; *Lýs. Ísl.* II. pp. 320–21.

P. 24, l. 33. *Meistara Abrions bækur*. It is difficult to say what writer this is; the spelling is evidently corrupted, as I am unable to find any author of that name. It may possibly be Peter of Abano.

P. 25, l. 1f. Concerning Drápuhlíðarfjall, see Thoroddsen, *Landfrs. Ísl.* II. p. 228, 325; *Ferðabók*, III. p. 75.

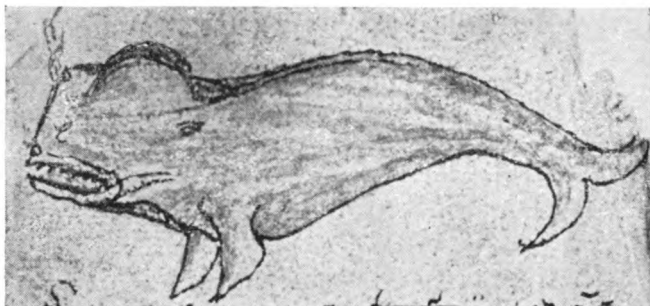
P. 25, l. 21. Indriði Jónsson, is doubtless the *lögrettumaður* of that name, so often mentioned in Espólin's *Árbækur* (vol. vi.). He was present at the Althing in 1635 when J. G.'s was publicly declared an exile.

P. 25, l. 23. Regarding borax in Iceland, see Thoroddsen, *Landfrs. Ísl.* IV. 31; *Lýsing Ísl.* II. p. 321; *Ferðabók* I. p. 148.

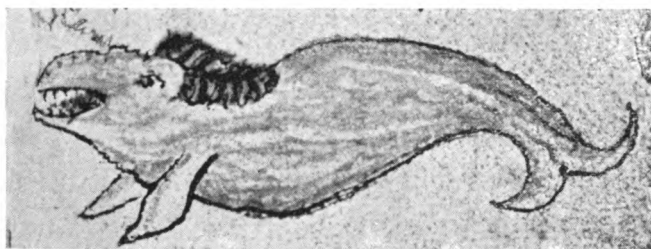
P. 26, l. 1. *Festar Reykium*, the place is known now as *Peistareykir*. Concerning the sulphur mines there, see Olavius, *Oeconomisk Reise* 1780, pp. 701–06; Thoroddsen, *Ferðabók* III. pp. 312–14, *Lýs. Ísl.* II. p. 245, etc.



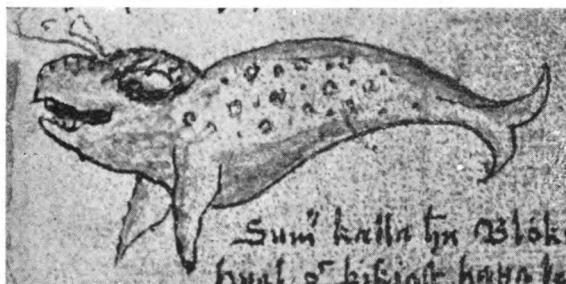
Map of the Northern Regions.



1. Búrhvalur.



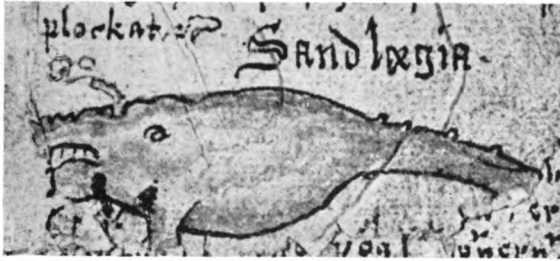
2. Rauðkemingur.



3. Hrosshvalur.



4. Náhvalur.



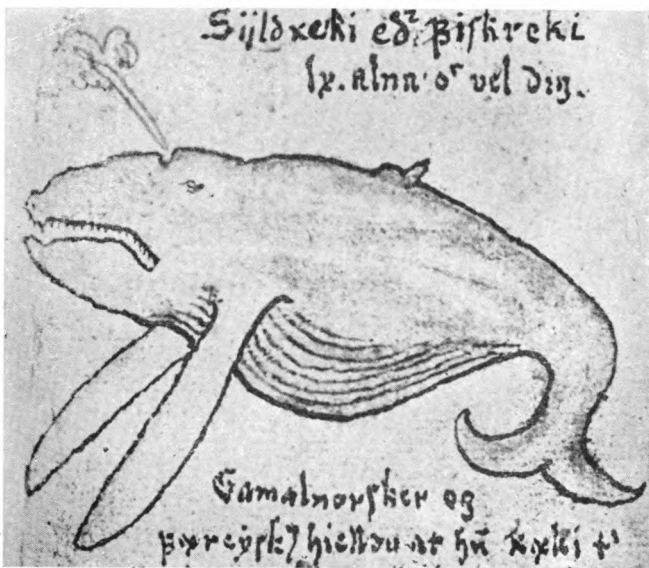
5. Sandlægia.



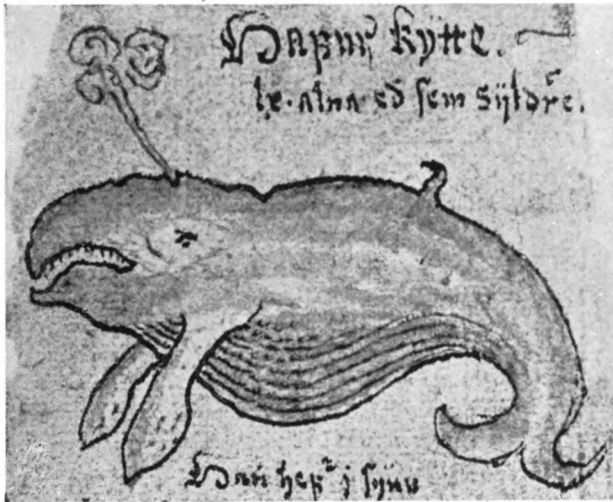
6. Sléttbakur.



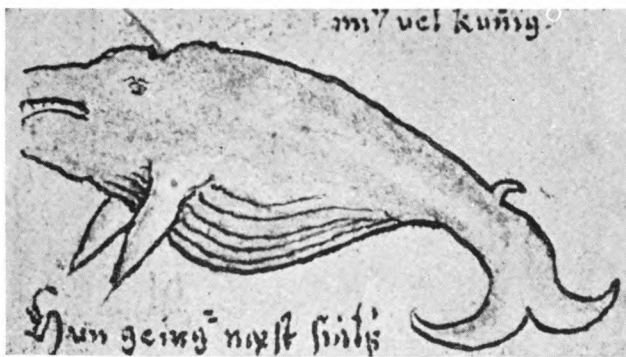
7. Geirreyður.



8. Síldreki.



9. Hafurkitti.



10. Hafreyður.



11. Steypireyður.



12. Rostungur.



13. Blálgoma. 14. Vogmeri.



15. Hámús.



16. Guðlax.



17. Halafiskur.



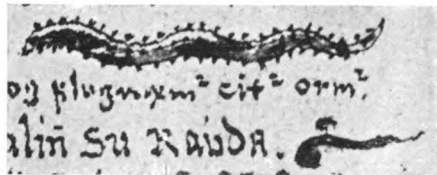
18. Sjóarígull.

19. Kögurinn.



20. Krossfiskur.

21. Hagalpiskur.



22. Skerinn.

23. Eiturnálin rauða.

ISLANDICA

AN ANNUAL RELATING TO ICELAND
AND THE
FISKE ICELANDIC COLLECTION
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VOLUME XVI
EGGERT ÓLAFSSON

BY
HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON

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1925

EGGERT ÓLAFSSON

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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Folklore 10-29-32

I.

To people of other lands Iceland has an uninviting name which seems to find confirmation by a look at the map. However, on closer examination it will be found that both name and latitude are somewhat misleading as to the conditions prevalent there. The name is due to an accident which befell a disgruntled explorer, and although no one would deny the existence of ice there both on land and sea, and plenty of it, it is a misnomer because the polar ice and the glaciers are not the only prominent features of the country. They are impressive, to be sure, and will long be remembered by one who has once seen them, but the name leaves out the blue mountains and the green hills and valleys which also will linger in the memory of the traveller, not to speak of the numerous volcanoes which represent the very element opposed to ice. And the temperature belies the latitude; it is moderated by a warm sea current which makes the climate wet and changeable rather than icy cold. But if thus the name and the location are not thoroughly to be trusted, they nevertheless give indications which are significant. Strong hands are required here to grapple with nature and make her yield sustenance to men, and only by hard struggle have they managed to live there for ten centuries. There has been a bitter fight with frost, fire and other calamities which nature has placed in the path of men, yet in the long run they were hardly the most disastrous things for the people. Foreign intervention and misgovernment probably weigh heavier in the scale. The former evils certainly were of frequent occurrence, but, in their most severe forms, they were transitory, and the people recovered often surprisingly quickly from them. The latter, on the other hand, were continuous for several centuries and grew in severity as time went on, so that the limit of the nation's endurance had virtually been reached about the middle of the eighteenth century, the period in which the subject of this essay lived. A brief glance at the preceding five centuries is necessary here in order to understand his life and appreciate his work.

2 Montagu 212 w/ea

It has frequently been maintained that the submission of the Icelanders to the king of Norway in the latter half of the thirteenth century was the only way out of the civil strife which had raged there for several decades, because peaceful conditions could only be established by the royal power which had sufficient authority and strength to curb the activities of the warring chieftains and make them respect the law. But the king himself was largely responsible for the civil war; he stopped at nothing to foment trouble and incite the ambitions of the chieftains with the view of bringing about finally the submission of the people. It was the unfortunate desire of the Norwegian kings to rule over Iceland which led to the turning point in Icelandic history—the people becoming subjects of a foreign king.

The compact which the Icelanders entered into with the king as a guaranty of their liberty was no sooner made than the king attempted to circumvent its clauses in order to change the laws to his advantage and introduce new taxes. In the beginning the Icelanders were on guard against such encroachments, but as time went on, the king, having the backing of the Norwegian people, managed to get his wishes in various ways. One of the provisions in the compact was that the king should see to it that at least six ships should sail annually from Norway to Iceland. Although he did not always fulfil this provision, he found it extremely convenient, by an arbitrary interpretation of it, as giving him a kind of monopoly of the Icelandic trade, or the power to grant this monopoly to certain of his Norwegian subjects; thus much of the profit of the trade found its way to foreigners who cared little for supplying the Icelanders with necessary imports, but were especially anxious to export Icelandic goods for which there was a good market. At the same time English traders and Hanseatic merchants were forbidden to carry on trade with Iceland, a prohibition which, however, was difficult to enforce, since they, notwithstanding rather frequent acts of violence, offered better terms than the Norwegians. The bishops of Skálholt and Hólar were for the most part of foreign origin and as a rule their aim was to enrich the church as well as themselves, so at the time of the Reformation a large portion of the land belonged to religious institutions, while the crown down to that time had acquired very little landed property.

A great change in this last respect took place in the sixteenth

century. The Scandinavian kings were ardent supporters of the Lutheran Reformation as it gave them a good chance to replenish their empty treasuries through seizing the property of the ecclesiastical institutions. This the Danish king did as thoroughly in Iceland as could be done, appropriating all the cloisters with their property, and leaving only so much of the property of the sees as was necessary for the support of the two Lutheran bishops, and out of their income they were expected even to defray most of the expenses of maintaining a Latin school at each see. The king's satellites also managed to get some part of the spoils. The conditions of the tenants of the crown lands became much worse than they had been before.¹ Nor was this all. The old taxes were gradually increased and new ones were introduced, so that there finally existed scarcely any source of income which was not subject to taxation. Hardly a penny of all this was used for the benefit of the people; nothing was done by the government to improve their condition, nothing for improvements of the means of communication; it seems never to have occurred to the rulers to do anything to increase the taxpaying ability of the nation; the only thought was to squeeze annually as much out of the pockets of the king's Icelandic subjects as possible with as little cost to the government as might be.² But most harmful were the restrictions of trade. The Danish kings were determined to develop the seafaring and commerce of the Danish towns, and Iceland was considered a legitimate object for that purpose. Hence the government did everything to prevent the Icelanders from trading with other nations than the Danes, so that virtually a monopoly existed already in the latter half of the sixteenth century,³ whereupon it was formally established in a more stringent form by a royal edict of 1602, and that state of affairs existed until 1787,⁴ while freedom of trade with all nations was not permitted until 1855. Much has been said and written about the evil effects of this monopoly, and they can hardly be exaggerated, because not only

¹ Páll E. Ólason, *Menn og menntir siðaskipta-aldarinnar á Íslandi*. III. Reykjavík, 1924, p. 22.

² The best account of the taxes and the king's income from Iceland is to be found in Páll E. Ólason, *op. cit.* pp. 5-203.

³ Páll E. Ólason, *op. cit.* III. p. 126.

⁴ For the history of the trade monopoly, see Jón J. Aðils, *Einokunarverzlun Dana á Íslandi*. Reykjavík, 1919.

did it impoverish the people while it enriched unscrupulous foreign merchants, but it practically made impossible all initiative and effort on the part of the population to improve their condition, and thus made them indolent, helpless and hopeless.

The establishment of the absolute monarchy in 1660 made comparatively little changes in the policy of the government towards Iceland. To be sure it did away with the legislative function of the Althing, but that had already become shadowy; there were some changes made in the administration whose highest officials were invariably foreigners, many of whom visited the country only at intervals. More severe punishments were introduced especially for violations of the trade monopoly. About 1700 a petition was sent by the Althing to the monarch asking for certain reforms. This led to the sending of a commission to Iceland which was to investigate the conditions there and to make suggestions as to remedies. The members of the commission, Árne Magnússon and Páll Vídalín, traversed the country for ten years (1702-12) and compiled a descriptive list of all the farms, a most important work,¹ but otherwise their labors resulted in no reforms to speak of. The trade monopoly became more intolerable than ever, and the whole material condition of the people was wretched. No wonder that they had lost or were losing confidence in their country and themselves.

Nor were the intellectual and ecclesiastical conditions much better. The submission of the Icelandic nation to a foreign ruler coincides with the end of the original prose literature. Sturla Thórdarson, the last historian of Old Iceland, was the recorder of the civil war in his country and the biographer of the Norwegian king to whom the Icelanders first swore allegiance, and of his successor. Interest in literary matters continued, however, unabated, and much poetry was written on the same or similar lines as of old, the ancient poetical traditions and rules being retained, although the subjects were more of a religious character than before. And so it remained throughout Catholic times. In this the Reformation brought about changes. It initiated a revival of Icelandic prose through the translation of the Holy Scriptures, but the poetry became little but clumsy renderings of foreign hymns and other religious poems, and it

¹ This is now in process of publication by the Society of Icelandic Letters in Copenhagen: *Jarðabók Árna Magnússonar og Páls Vídalíns*. 1912ff.

was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that this religious poetry reached a higher stage. Many of the leaders of the Lutheran church displayed a distinct hostility towards secular poetry and tried to suppress it, fortunately without success, so it continued to flourish and circulate among the people by mouth or by writing, because nothing of this kind was disseminated through printing. As ill luck would have it, the only press in the country was under episcopal control; bigoted and narrowminded bishops poured forth devotional works, hymns and other sacred poetry, being more bent upon saving souls for the next world than making life endurable in this. Lutheranism soon became rigid orthodoxy of a particularly dark hue which led to the witchcraft persecutions in the seventeenth century and other superstitions, the embers of which continued to glow, although many of their worst features had disappeared or were on the wane in the following century. But, as stated, the secular literature was almost exclusively circulated in manuscripts, hence we find at that time great activity in copying old and new writings of this character. Alas, even these the people were not allowed to enjoy and keep to themselves!

In the Scandinavian North the early Renaissance movement spent itself in a religious reform. Hence we find no traces of it in Iceland, while the late Renaissance is noticeable there in a reawakened interest among the Icelanders in the history and early literature of their country. Their brethren in the other Scandinavian countries soon discovered that Iceland was a store house of ancient traditions and literary remains, and they became very eager to secure these. The Danish government first issued orders that the old manuscripts be sent to Copenhagen, but to this there was little response at first, although codices were sometimes sent by Icelanders as presents to their friends or men in high positions in Denmark. Before long the Swedish government was also in the field, dispatching its agents, as a rule native Icelanders, thither in order to buy manuscripts which are now in Stockholm and Upsala, and finally came Árni Magnússon, a genius of a collector, and made practically a clean sweep of what was left.¹ All this he brought with him to Copenhagen

¹ For an account of the collecting of the manuscripts, see especially Kr. Kaalund's introductions to his *Katalog over den Arnemagnæanske Haandskriftsamling*, København 1888-94, and his *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske*

and bequeathed it to the University there, thus founding the famous collection that bears his name. It is idle to speculate on whether this collecting and wholesale exportation saved the manuscripts from destruction—an argument often advanced. I am not concerned here with that hypothetical question, but am merely stating the fact that Iceland was deprived of them, so that people had no opportunity to make use of them there. What this really meant may be best illustrated by a comparison. Iceland had no monumental buildings of the past nor works of art. The memory of her men and her history was preserved on parchment and paper; her monuments were literary; of these she had now been deprived, and therefore in the condition that Italy would be if she had been shorn of her monuments, sculptures, paintings, and manuscripts of the past.

I have mentioned above the two Latin schools which had been established in Iceland. These were of the most primitive kind, receiving scant financial support, and the education which the students received there was one-sided and superficial. Whatever benefit they derived from attending them was more the result of their own independent industry and intellectual curiosity than of the teaching of the often insufficiently trained, overworked, and underpaid teachers, usually two in number at each school. To improve upon this the government granted a stipend to a certain number of graduates from these schools while studying at the University of Copenhagen. This was indeed a great privilege, but in those early days comparatively few students were able to avail themselves of it.

Because Iceland was governed from Copenhagen, and since the highest representatives of the government seldom stayed for any length of time in the country, no capital city came into existence there. Nor were there any permanent seats for any of the secular officials except the governor-general whose residence was Bessastaðir. Furthermore, the commercial policy of the government prevented the development even of a trading town. The merchants, being foreigners, traded only during the summer, closed up their stores in the autumn, and sailed away with their profits, to reappear in the spring. This absence of towns made *Haandskrifter i det store kongelige Bibliotek*, etc. København 1900; also W. Gödel, *Fornnorsk-isländsk litteratur i Sverige*. I. Stockholm 1897.—To this disappearance of MSS. from the country Eggert Ólafsson refers in one of his poems, see *Kvæði*, p. 125, st. 17; p. 127, st. 37.

difficult any material or intellectual co-operation by the natives as well as any concerted political action.

Thus the Icelanders had lived for many centuries under a government which took much but gave very little. They were themselves not altogether without blame for the condition of their country, because they had often quarreled among themselves and thus strengthened the hands of the government, nor had their leaders always set public above private interests, as has happened and will happen in all ages and all countries. But the nation had reached a stage where its very existence hung in the balance, and with this in mind we must view the life of Eggert Ólafsson.

II.

Eggert Ólafsson was born in Svefneyjar in Breiðafjörð, Dec. 1, 1726.¹ His father was Ólafur Gunnlaugsson, a well-to-do farmer and in many respects a remarkable man; he wrote some poetry, painted a little, and made a large collection of proverbs;² his ancestors were farmers. Eggert's mother was Ragnheiður Sigurðsdóttir, whose family on her mother's side goes back to a Norwegian chieftain of the ninth century.³ Her father was of the renowned Svalbarð family⁴ which counted among its members some of the most prominent men in the country during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. She had two brothers: Sigurður Sigurðsson, a clergyman, and Guðmundur Sigurðsson, prefect of Snæfellsnessýsla. Eggert's first teacher was his uncle, the clergyman, but at twelve years of age he went to live with his other uncle at Ingjaldshóll, who henceforth defrayed all the expenses of his education. He was prepared for the Latin school

¹ For the life and works of Eggert, see especially Björn Halldórsson, *Æfe Eggerts Ólafssonar*, etc. Hrappsey 1784. 8°, pp. 64; Þorv. Thoroddsen, *Landfræðissaga Íslands* III. 1902, pp. 17-56; J. C. Poestion, *Isländische Dichter der Neuzeit*, 1897, pp. 246-64; Jón Jónsson (Aðils), *Dagrenning*, 1910, pp. 3-38; Jón Helgason, *Fra Íslands Dæmringstíð*, 1918, pp. 21-36; Vilhj. P. Gíslason, *Íslensk endurreisn*, 1923, passim; Bjarni Jónsson, *Um Eggert Ólafsson*. Reykjavík, 1892. 8°, pp. 56; Guðm. G. Bárðarson, in *Lögrjetta* XII. No. 54; Kr. Kaalund, in *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, XII. pp. 381-84. A few letters from Eggert are printed in *Andvari* I. pp. 172-93, II. pp. 135-42, III. pp. 146-52.

² Þorv. Thoroddsen, *Landfrss. Ísl.* II. pp. 301-02.

³ See Appendix I. at the end of this volume.

⁴ See Appendix II.

by a neighboring clergyman, Síra Thorleifur Magnússon, and entered the Skálholt School in 1741. There he remained five winters, spending his summer vacations with his uncle at Ingjaldshóll. He graduated in 1746, and in the same year went to Copenhagen, where he was matriculated at the University, choosing as his private "præceptor," or adviser, Joachim Fredrick Ramus, professor of mathematics, who evidently had considerable influence upon the young student and encouraged him in his work.¹ In 1748 he passed the prescribed examination in philosophy and obtained a bachelor's degree, but as to what were his special studies those two years we have no information.

In the following year he published the first part of his dissertation entitled *Enarrationes historicae de Islandiæ natura et constitutione* (see p. 9) in the preface to which he says, that it was undertaken at the suggestion of a gentleman in Iceland to whom he was under obligations, which probably refers to his uncle Guðmundur.² In an introductory chapter he explains the causes and actions of subterranean fire, and comes to the conclusion that Iceland is mostly formed by volcanic forces; small islands had gradually been formed in the sea by volcanic eruptions, and by subsequent ones those had been made larger and higher and finally united so that they took the shape which the country now has. Thereupon follow five chapters dealing with various natural phenomena in Iceland, constituting a partial physical geography of the country; these were compiled mostly from manuscripts in the Arna-Magnæan Collection and printed sources, and the whole makes a creditable work. The second part of the dissertation was never published, and it may be doubted if it was ever completed.³

In the same year the young author took the opportunity to reveal to the public his poetic talent. The Oldenburg dynasty had been for three hundred years on the Danish throne, and that called for some celebration. Eggert issued the first of his poetical eulogies of the royal family under the title *Islandia expergefacta ad jubilæum*, etc.⁴ The poem is equally archaic in

¹ See *Andvari* II. p. 146.

² Cf. *Andvari* II. p. 146ff.

³ Finnur Magnússon states that the MS. of vol. ii existed, cf. P. Thoroddsen, *Lfrss. Ísl.* III. p. 20.

⁴ The full title is: *Islandia expergefacta ad jubilæum Daniæ & Norvegiæ quod in memoriam regiminis stemmatis Oldenburgici C. C. C. jam annum, a deo*

ENARR. HISTORICÆ
DE
ISLANDIÆ NATURA
ET CONSTITUTIONE
FORMATÆ & TRANSFORMATÆ
PER ERUPTIONES IGNIS

Ex
Antiquissimis Islandorum, Manuscriptis Hi-
storiciis, Annalibus, Relationibus, nec-
non observationibus

Conscriptæ
PARTICULA PRIMA

DE
ISLANDIA, ANTEQVAM COE-
PTA EST HABITARI

Qvam
Pro STIPENDIO VICTUS REGIO
CONSENSU AMPLISSIMI SENATUS
ACADEMICI

Publico Opponentium Examini
Subjiciet

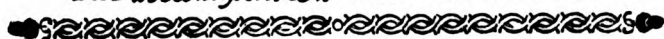
EGERHARDUS OLAVIUS ISLAND.
RESPONDENTE

ILLOGO SIGURDI FILIO.

S. Sti. Ministerii Candidato.

In AUDITORIO COLLEGII REGII.

Die 24. Dec. h. g. & c. Anno M. DCC. XLIX.



HAFNIÆ,

Typis & Impensis Directoris S. R. M. & Universitatis Typog.
JOH. GEORG. HÖPFFNERI.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE *Enarrationes historicae*.

expressions, form, and spelling, so the Latin translation accompanying it must have been a real help to the reader. In this pamphlet the author calls himself student of philosophy and northern antiquities.

During the winter 1749-50 we first hear of Eggert collaborating with Bjarni Pálsson, who was seven years his senior, was a graduate of the Hólar Latin School, and who had taken a medical degree in 1748.¹ These two were engaged by Professor Møllmann to catalogue books in the University Library, and discharged this task so well that in the spring they were given a stipend of the Arna-Magnæan Legacy to make a trip to Iceland with the purpose of collecting old books and natural objects, such as plants, animals, and minerals. They repaired to Iceland the same year and travelled principally through the southwestern districts of the country, ascended the volcano Hekla, which no one had done before, and returned to Copenhagen in the autumn. The results of the trip were apparently satisfactory to the Copenhagen authorities, and aroused the interest of the Royal Academy of Sciences, which ordered Bjarni to investigate earlier expeditions to Iceland and make a report on them. Eggert continued his geological and antiquarian studies, and published, in 1751, a disquisition, *De ortu et progressu superstitionis circa ignem Islandiæ subterraneum*, etc., dealing with Icelandic superstitions about subterranean fire, in which he tries to show the connection between volcanic activities and the popular belief in supernatural beings; it is principally based upon the *Speculum regale* and other old writings.²

optimo maximo servati indixit Fridericus quintus, Daniæ, Norvegiæ, Vandalorum Gothorumque, dux Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ et Ditmarsiæ, Oldenburgi ac Delmenhorstæ comes. A. D. XXVIII. Octobr. MDCCXLIX. Havniæ, Officina Sac. Reg. Maj. Aulica apud E. H. Berlingium. 4° ff. (6).—On p. 3 as continuation of the title: Quam rhythmo, antiquissima regnorum septentrionalium lingua composito, et juxta veterum scaldorum, sive poetarum regiorum methodum, ut, scripturæ genus, metrum, voces et loquendi modos, instituto alloquitur Egerhardus Olavius Isl. nat. philos. et antiquitatum bor. studiosus. Accedit latina singulorum metrorum explicatio, proxime, quoad prisca idiomatis genius pati potuit proposita.—The Icelandic text is printed in Kvæði, pp. 74-77.

¹ For the life of Bjarni, see Sveinn Pálsson, *Æfisaða Bjarna Pálssonar. Leirárgörðum* 1800, 8°;—Þorv. Thoroddsen, *Landfræðissaga Íslands* III. p. 20ff.; Jónas Jónassen, in *Tímarit hins ísl. Bókmenntafélags* XI. 1890, p. 177ff.

² For the full title, see *Icel. Cat.* p. 438. As indicated in the title it is *præmittenda* to vol. ii of *Enarrationes* which never was published. The number of pages in a complete copy is 28, perhaps pp. 13-28 were published separately as part ii.

Upon the ascension of Fredrick the Fifth to the Danish throne in 1746 a reform government was soon established which had the best intentions to ameliorate the conditions of the Icelanders, but ignorance about the country made it difficult to take any definite steps in that direction. It was therefore necessary to obtain first hand information about the physical geography of the country, its resources, and the life and customs of the inhabitants. Niels Horrebow had been sent thither by the government in 1749, chiefly, however, to make scientific observations, but on the recommendation of the Academy of Sciences he was recalled and the king issued a letter April 23, 1751,¹ directing that Eggert and Bjarni should be sent to Iceland and in the following years traverse the whole country in accordance with instructions given to them by the Academy. They were to keep the stipend from the Arna-Magnæan Legacy, and in addition to this receive 100 Rigsdaler from the royal treasury, a sum which later on was doubled. It proved difficult to start the expedition the following summer, so by a rescript of May 14, 1751,² it was arranged that they should spend the next winter in Copenhagen in preparation, which accordingly they did.

In the spring of 1752 the two left Copenhagen, and reached Iceland in July, not entering upon their overland journey until August. That summer they visited some of the northern districts. The next year (1753) they ascended Geitlandsjökull and travelled through the western and northwestern districts. In the summer of 1754 they scaled Snæfellsjökull, which never had been done before, and visited those of the western districts where they had not been the preceding year. In 1755 they went over the Reykjanes peninsula, making a careful investigation of sulphur mines there, whereupon they traversed again some of the western and northwestern districts. The following year (1756) they turned their attention to the southeastern parts of the country, being particularly anxious to visit the crater Katla where a great eruption had taken place the preceding October. They tried to find the crater, but meeting with bad weather they had to turn back without accomplishing this, and continued their journey eastwards. In 1757 they first visited Eyjafjord in the North, where they parted company, Eggert

¹ *Lovsamling for Island* III. pp. 70-72.

² *Ibid.* pp. 89-90.

going west while Bjarni went alone through the northwestern and eastern districts, not previously visited by them, and made a survey of the sulphur mines around Mývatn. Thus their travels came to an end, both leaving in the autumn of that year for Copenhagen. Most of their winters they had spent at Viðey with Skúli Magnússon, the energetic country treasurer (*land-fógeti*). From time to time they had sent reports of their travels and observations, and their collections to the Academy, which were well received.

The following two years Eggert and Bjarni spent in Copenhagen working on the material they had collected, and preparing an account of their travels which was to be printed, and besides pursued studies in the University. In 1760 Bjarni was appointed surgeon-general of Iceland, an office which had just been established. Consequently he left Copenhagen to take up his duties in Iceland. These left him no time for further work on their travels, which henceforth Eggert had to continue alone. But the climate of Copenhagen was not agreeable to him, and he asked to be permitted to return to Iceland and work there on the report. This the government granted, so he also left for Iceland in the spring of 1760. He took up his residence at Sauðlauksdal with Síra Björn Halldórsson, his brother-in-law. He was glad to see his native land again,¹ and soon regained his health. He had intended at first only to stay there one winter, but he remained for four years.

The Sauðlauksdal parsonage was a unique place in Iceland in those days, as will be mentioned below, and Eggert thoroughly enjoyed his stay there, the two brothers-in-law having many things in common, though in many others they were different, so that their daily intercourse doubtless benefitted both. The work on the expedition advanced slowly which apparently caused some dissatisfaction and criticism in Copenhagen circles. Whether this was due to enmity or envy on the part of his own countrymen in the Danish capital, as he plainly intimates,² is difficult to ascertain. In any case he was recalled to Copenhagen to give an account of his work, and he arrived there in the autumn of 1764. He satisfied his superiors fully as to the progress of the

¹ Cf. *Andvari* II. p. 172.

² See *Kvæði*, pp. 192-93. Possibly the poem *Öfundarela* was written at the same time (*Kvæði*, pp. 115-16).

work, and he remained in Copenhagen for the next two years to finish it.

About that time there was a considerable number of Icelandic students living in Copenhagen and, as often has been the case, they were divided into two factions opposed to one another. One of these had established an organization, called *Sakir*, presumably about the year 1756, partly as it seems for social purposes, partly with the view of securing united action of the Icelandic students in any quarrels which might arise between them and Danish students, and a clash between the two is said to have been the immediate cause of the organization, but its early history is obscure because there are no reliable sources extant concerning it older than 1760. But if it was founded in the year 1756 Eggert could not have been directly connected with its beginning, as he was at that time in Iceland, but his brothers were doubtless among the founders of the *Sakir*. In the two years he spent in Copenhagen after finishing his travels feeling probably ran rather high among the students, and it is not unlikely that this was one of the causes why Eggert wished to go to Iceland in 1760.¹ When he returned in 1764 the bickerings between the factions were still going on, although many students took no part in them. The two opposing groups were called the Bishop's Sons' Party (*Biskupssonaflokkur*) and the Farmers' Sons' Party (*Bændasonaflokkur*). The former consisted chiefly of sons of Icelandic officials and its leader was Hannes Finnsson, son of the bishop of Skálholt, hence the name. The latter group was led by Eggert or probably rather by his brothers. The names of the parties indicate a certain social distinction which, however, was not of any particular consequence. More important was the difference of opinion on the affairs of their native land. Both unquestionably were good patriots according to the standard of the time, but they disagreed as to the methods to be used in promoting the welfare of their country. The party of the farmers' sons were great admirers of the ancient history of the people, wishing to imitate their remote ancestors in their actions, speaking, and writing; they supposed by so doing they could best preserve the national heritage and at the same time lift the people up from the lethargy into which they had fallen, and arouse them to action; it was, in other words, a strongly

¹ Cf. *Andvari* II. p. 173.

nationalistic movement, which aimed at cultivating to the utmost all national customs and traditions, while counteracting foreign influences. The bishop's sons were equally anxious about the welfare of their land, but they believed that this would be best advanced by following the examples of other nations and benefiting by their experience, without, however, disregarding the traditions of the forefathers. They may thus be styled opportunists or moderates, while the others were extremists. There are certain periods when men of extreme and uncompromising views are required, not because it is desirable that they should win, but in order to arouse opposition and thus awaken the people, and this was one of those periods. Eggert was such an extremist, as can be seen from the language and spelling of the first two pamphlets which he published in Icelandic, but he gradually tempered his views, and during his last stay in Copenhagen he tried to effect a reconciliation between the factions, but in this he was not successful, which could hardly be expected since he had been so long in the front line and the opposition were less willing to yield to him than to some other, besides, it is rumored that a personal affair between him and Hannes was the underlying cause of the bitterness between the leaders.¹ When they left the stage the factions soon disappeared.

In January 1766 King Fredrick V died and Eggert wrote a poem for the occasion, mourning the dead monarch and greeting his successor, which was printed the same year in Copenhagen.² His labors on the travels were seemingly now finished, and in the summer of 1766 he returned to Iceland and again settled at Sauðlauksdal. He received a pension from the government until he could be appointed to some salaried position. In the following year he was made vice-lawman of the southern and eastern provinces, but no salary was attached to this position; he would, however, succeed to the lawmanship as soon as this became vacant. The appointment was not so unexpected as he and his biographer say.³ He had actually applied for the position.⁴ In another respect it might appear rather surprising.

¹ For this whole matter, see Jón Porkelsson's introduction to *Saga Jóns Espólins*, 1895, pp. v-xxxiii.—J. Espólin, *Íslands árbækur* X. p. 78.

² *Fridreks-Draapa*; for a full title, see *Icel. Cat.* p. 428; printed in *Kvæði*, pp. 103-07.

³ *Andvari* I. p. 192; Björn Halldórsson, *Æfi*, p. 9.

⁴ *Skírnir* LXXXV. pp. 372-77 (by Klemens Jónsson).

By the royal ordinance of Feb. 10, 1736, it had been prescribed that only those who had studied law in the University and taken a degree should be appointed to judicial offices, but as a matter of fact this was not rigidly observed in Iceland during the eighteenth century.¹ Nor was Eggert's appointment justified. There was at that time much uncertainty as to what laws were in force in Iceland and the government made repeated attempts to have the laws codified, but without success.² Although Eggert had not been a student of law in the University, he had studied by himself the ancient laws of the country and there were probably few, if any, of his contemporaries who had so good a knowledge of the subject as he. And from that standpoint the appointment was quite appropriate, but unfortunately it was not to fall to his lot to succeed to the lawmanship.

He became engaged to Ingibjörg Guðmundsdóttir, his cousin, the daughter of Guðmundur Sigurðsson, his fosterfather, who had died in 1753. She was living with one of her relatives, the minister of Reykholt, and at this old home of Snorri Sturlason the wedding took place in the autumn of 1767.³ In accordance with the wishes of the bridegroom this was a most elaborate affair and was carried out in the manner of aristocratic weddings of mediæval Iceland, upon which Eggert had written a lengthy treatise with the purpose of preserving these customs, and he had written many songs (*minni*) to be sung at the various ceremonies to be observed at such weddings. And there was all the more reason to revive them since the pietistic government of Christian VI had tried to suppress some of the customs which were considered irreverent.⁴

Although Eggert needed no suggestion from outside to advocate the observance of old national customs, it is not unlikely that his interest in this particular field, the marriage ceremonies, may have originally been awakened or stimulated by others. While a student in the University he became an intimate friend of Jón Eiríksson, two years his junior, who although a native of Iceland was a graduate of the Thronhjelm Cathedral School; his knowledge or use of Icelandic had become somewhat rusty

¹ Klemens Jónsson, *Lögfræðingatal*, 1910, p. 1f.

² Halldór Hermannsson, *Modern Icelandic*, 1919, pp. 15-16.

³ His love affair is described in the poem *Honest Venus, eður Hreinar ástir* (see *Kvæði*, pp. 155-68).

⁴ See ordinance of June 3, 1746 (cf. *Tímarit h. ísl. Bók. fél.* XVII, p. 139).

and this he remedied by intercourse with Icelandic students. Gerhard Schöning, a young Norwegian who at that time had determined to make the writing of Norwegian history his life work, was then living in Copenhagen. For his researches knowledge of Old Norse or Icelandic was essential, and this he acquired doubtless from Jón Eiríksson and his Icelandic friends, possibly Eggert, who then was studying old manuscripts. The first product of Schöning's researches in Old Norse subjects was a dissertation on wedding customs in the ancient North, which was published in January 1750, and dedicated to one of his friends on the latter's wedding day.¹ Now there are two possibilities, either Eggert suggested the subject to Schöning, or vice versa; that there is some connection between Schöning's printed pamphlet and Eggert's elaborate essay on the marriage customs in Iceland seems highly probable. This essay has never been printed, but there are various manuscript copies of it.² I mention this as an example of possible influence from outside on some of Eggert's national activities.

But to return to the wedding. We have an interesting account of it by one of the guests, Síra Björn Halldórsson, the bridegroom's brother-in-law, and a brief summary of it is worth including here.³

On Saturday most of the invited guests arrived in Reykholt, the bridegroom and his followers occupying tents which had been erected at some distance from the parsonage. On Sunday morning he rode to church with his attendants, the other guests and church-goers joining them. This was called the bridegroom's ride, and it was arranged so that one man led the procession, others following behind him in pairs, first the attendants, then men of highest rank, then clergymen and other officials, and finally farmers and young men. The bridegroom with his "paranymph" rode in the middle surrounded by his friends and neighbors. They alighted near the church, and were received there by the rural dean and two clergymen, who intoned a

¹ Cf. L. Daae, *Gerhard Schöning*, 1880, p. 16; Francis Bull, *Fra Holberg til Nordal Brun*, 1916, p. 151ff.—The title of Schöning's pamphlet is: *Nogle Anmærkninger over vore gamle nordiske Forfædres Giftermaal og Brylluper*.

² A pretty full account of its contents is found in an article on the subject by Sæmundur Eyjólfsson, in *Tímarit h. ísl. Bók. fél.* XVII. 1896, pp. 92–143.—Cf. Eggert's *Kvæði*, pp. 181–87.

³ Printed in *Fjallkonan* II. 1885, pp. 23–24, 27.

hymn and singing led the procession into the church. Thereupon the ladies were conducted from the parsonage to the church, and matins were sung. After that the regular church service was celebrated and the banns read for the third time. Following the service a banquet was held, where the cup of welcome and other toasts were drunk with appropriate speeches and songs. The toasts were carried to the bride's house where the ladies were dining, with greetings from the men, a speech was delivered and songs sung. The dinner lasted until evening, and when it was finally over a toast of rejoicing was drunk with due ceremonies, the mirth reaching its climax just before the guests separated and went to their respective quarters.

On Monday the wedding took place. The men entered for the first time the bride's house and greeted the ladies who were sitting there on benches. The bridegroom stepped forward and plighted his troth to the bride in accordance with law, whereupon the men withdrew. Then all went to church where the rural dean performed the marriage ceremony. Following it a dinner was served, and this was the first time that men and women dined together. After dinner and vespers the king's toast was drunk.

The following Tuesday was the so-called Farmer's Day (*bóndadagur*). After matins and breakfast the nuptial toast was drunk, at which every guest was obliged to speak (while at the other toasts there was only one speaker). Following the dinner the farmer's toast (*bóndaminni*) was drunk. This was the most original of all the ceremonies at the wedding. All the guests repaired to the church-yard, where Snorri Sturlason and other of the Sturlungs lay buried. A bench was placed along the wall where the most prominent guests could sit, and in front of it was the toastmaster's chair; behind it were standing his assistants, the singers, and an old farmer who was to make the so-called nomination. Two men brought forth the mead-cask, filled with a mixture of mead and ale, a special drink prepared for the occasion with herbs, and quite strong. These men stood beside the toastmaster and filled the cups from the cask. The toastmaster rose, greeted the guests, and delivered a speech, whereupon the old farmer stepped forward, proposed the toast for the young couple, giving the bridegroom the title of farmer (*bóndi*) and the bride that of housewife (*húsfreyja*). Then a

song was sung and all turned towards the young couple and bowed to them. After the singing the bridegroom thanked the company for the toast on his own and his wife's behalf, declaring it to be a great honor to bear such titles. Thereupon the toast was drunk, and others followed until the cask was empty. After supper vespers were held, and the day ended with the drinking of Iceland's toast (*fóðurlandsminni*). It is worth mentioning that this day the bridegroom wore a dress entirely of native material, not only was the cloth domestic but the buttons and other things of that kind were either made of native material or at least were of native workmanship. By this he wished to set an example to others.

The guests numbered about one hundred, and most of them left on Wednesday morning after matins, and after the farewell cup had been drunk; only a few guests stayed over until Thursday or Friday.

Having been married Eggert planned to make his home at Hofstaðir, a large farm on the south side of Snæfellsnes. Big buildings were being erected there to receive him, but unfortunately they could not be completed that autumn, so with his wife he decided to spend the winter at Sauðlauksdal. In May 1768 preparations were made by him to move to his new home, and two open boats were secured for the purpose. On May 30th, which was Sunday, the two boats left Skör, a landing place on the north shore of Breiðafjörð, going directly south towards Snæfellsnes. They were heavily loaded; Eggert and his wife with their servants and a few seamen occupied the larger of the two boats, Eggert himself being at the helm. The weather was quiet at the time of sailing, but there were ominous signs of an approaching change, and some of the seamen advised against going to sea, but Eggert ordered that they should sail. When they were a mile or so away from land, threatening dark clouds which had been seen on the northeast horizon in the morning quickly covered the whole sky and the wind increased to a gale. The smaller ship soon reefed the sails, laid to for a while, and then returned safely to Skör. As to the fate of the other boat there are conflicting accounts. The crew of the small boat maintained that the large boat passed them going southward at great speed, and finally disappeared into the darkness of the storm. Others have it that the crew saw Eggert's boat capsize, and

Eggert and his secretary twice climb out of the water upon the keel, but that the crew did not attempt to save them, which probably under the circumstances would have been impossible considering the fury of the elements.¹ In any case Eggert's boat was never seen again nor anything of its contents, except a shoe which later was cast on shore and was supposed to have belonged to his wife. Eggert's disappearance was so sudden and involved in such uncertainty that people were reluctant to believe that he actually was dead and gone forever. Hence there circulated stories to the effect that he had been saved by a foreign fishing ship, and had gone abroad. But he did not return, and soon no faith was placed in such tales and surmises. Thus he died in the prime of life, and with him perished a great many of his own writings, and valuable collections of various kinds.²

III.

The most important by far of Eggert's writings is the work on his and Bjarni Pálsson's travels. It was compiled from their diaries and other notes, about one half of the material found there being included. He wrote it in Danish and thereafter sent it to his friend Jón Eiríksson who at that time was professor at the Sorö Academy and who was to revise it and correct the style, if need be. But before Jón could finish this he was called to Copenhagen, so the revision was entrusted to Gerhard Schønning, at that time professor of history in Sorö. He made the final preparation of the manuscript for the printer, and wrote the preface. It was published in Sorö at the expense of the Danish Academy of Sciences in 1772, in two stately volumes under the title *Reise igiennem Island* (see p. 20), over eleven hundred pages in quarto, with many illustrations, and a new map of

¹ See especially *Blanda* II. 1921-23, pp. 146-90 (Tvennar heimildir um drukknun Eggerts Ólafssonar) by Árni Porkelsson and Daði Nielsson.

² Eggert's mother had died earlier in the same year, but his eighty years old father was living at Sauðlauksdal, and a story is told by his grandson that when the old man heard the news of the drowning he said nothing, but walked out into the field and worked hard there for half a day; when he returned home he was as cheerful as usual (P. Thoroddsen, *Lfss. Ísl.* III. p. 41). Another tradition has it that he long hoped for the return of his son (*Blanda* II. p. 189). Ólafur Gunnlaugsson survived his son by eighteen years, and died 1784, ninety-six years old.

Vice-Lavmand Eggert Dlassens
 og
 Land-Physici Biarne Povelsens
Reise igiennem Island,
 foranstaltet
 af
Videnskabernes Selskab
 i Kiøbenhavn,
 og beskreven af forberemelte
 Eggert Dlassen,
 med
 dertil hørende 51 Kobberstøkker
 og
 et nyt forfærdiget Kart over Island.

Første Deel.

Copoe, 1772.

Trykt hos Jonas Lindgrens Enke.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE *Reise* (REDUCED).

Iceland by Jón Eiríksson and Schøning.¹ Two years later it was translated into German,² in 1802 a French translation was issued,³ and in 1805 appeared an epitome in English.⁴

This monumental work is of lasting value and is the first authoritative and comprehensive description of Iceland and its inhabitants. In view of the criticism which sometimes has been made regarding the arrangement of the text,⁵ it must be remembered that it is not styled a description of but a journey through Iceland. This has its advantages as well as disadvantages. If one wishes to learn all about a certain district, it will usually be found in one place; if on the other hand a description of a certain thing and its occurrence in the country is looked for, it has to be sought in various places. It would doubtless have been better to work it out so that each subject or all related subjects were treated in one place. All topics concerning the geography and nature of the country, the life of the people, their customs and livelihoods are dealt with there at a length proportionate to their importance. The geography covers, however, almost exclusively the inhabited portions through which the travellers went. Their observations are generally very accurate, while their theories and explanations of natural phenomena are in conformity with the state of science at that time, and therefore often of little consequence now. For instance, geology and cognate sciences were then in a primitive stage; it follows therefore that the classification of glaciers and the ideas expressed there about their origin and development are now looked upon as unscientific, yet much valuable information about them is to be found there. The author divides the mountains into two groups, which he calls

¹ It was issued in 500 copies.

² *Reise durch Island*. I.-II. Theil. Kopenhagen u. Leipzig 1774-75.
⁴ Translated by J. M. Geuss.—An abstract appeared in 1779 (see *Icel. Cat.* p. 439).

³ *Voyage en Islande*. Tome I.-V. Paris 1802. 8°. Translated by Gauthier de Lapeyronie (see *Icel. Cat.* p. 439). The work was very unfavorably reviewed in the *Edinburgh Review* III. 1804, pp. 334-43.

⁴ *Travels in Iceland*. London 1805. 8°. (See *Icel. Cat.* p. 439.) According to the title it is translated from the Danish, but in a postscript signed F. W. B., the editor lets the cat out of the bag by stating that the original work was not published until 1802, thus divulging that this is an abstract of the French version, and a poor one at that.

⁵ See e.g. W. F. Hooker, *Journal of a tour in Icel.* 1813, I. pp. lxxxi-lxxxii; and the reviewer in the *Edinb. Review* mentioned above.

regular and irregular; the former corresponds nearly to the mountains of basalt, while the second covers those of tuff and breccia, including also as a rule those of liparite. He does not make a proper distinction between rocks of volcanic and of aqueous origin, nor between rocks and minerals, but this fault is more due to his time than to himself. In the *surtarbrand* he observed impressions of the leaves of trees, and thus was the first to discover its origin, but the different levels of the layers somewhat puzzled him, yet he explained that by great upheavals which had taken place in earlier periods. Besides the glaciers particular attention is paid to all volcanic phenomena, and we find there long descriptions of volcanoes, hot and tepid springs, sulphur mines, and the like. The mineral springs called *ölkeldur* he dwells on at length, and thinks that they might be profitably used. The vegetation he investigated with great care and made a large collection of plants; he was particularly interested in the economic, nutritive, and medical values of the native flora, an interest which was characteristic of the age. The fauna of land and sea is likewise treated at length, with particular attention to ornithology.¹ All branches of natural science he tried to cover, and thus he laid the foundations of that science in Iceland. Eggert had not used all his materials in this work; he intended to write monographs on various subjects of natural history, such as volcanoes, insects, and birds; drafts of some of those still exist in manuscript, but most of them were lost with him.

The life of the people fills no less space than the nature of the country. There is hardly a side of it which is not described or commented upon; we are told about the looks of the inhabitants of the various districts, their peculiarities, their language, dress, occupation, intellectual interests, games, amusement, and so on. Thus the book is an invaluable source for the history of civilization.² The illustrations, fifty-one in number, are partly by Eggert, partly by others; most of them are well and carefully done.

Of the two travellers' personal experiences their climbing of some

¹ Concerning this, see P. Thoroddsen, *Landfrss. Isl.* III. pp. 45-56.

² There is a reference in one place to New England. Complaining of the rising wages in Iceland the author says that it ultimately may result in such conditions as are said to prevail in the English colonies in America, where householders can not afford to keep servants on account of the high wages (*Rejse*, p. 38).

high mountains is most fully described. This was novel in Iceland as elsewhere at that time. People felt some superstitious fear of the mountains, believing that unknown dangers were lurking there and supernatural beings to be met with. Our travellers showed that this superstition was baseless, and it is one of the noteworthy things they accomplished, although their mountaineering exploits were not of a dangerous and difficult kind, measured by the standard of the present day mountain climber.

The volcano Hekla was the first mountain to be scaled, on June 19, 1750. Arriving at Selsund, one of the farms nearest the mountain, they engaged the farmer as their guide. Although knowing well the country around, he had never been farther than the base of the mountain, as the people looked upon it as reckless to make any attempt to investigate the mountain itself, and furthermore maintained that it would be impossible to ascend it because of terrible sulphur-reeking mud pools, hot springs, and a large crater which continually emitted fire and smoke. Moreover it was rumored that birds, in the shape of ravens, with sharp beaks of iron, would give an exceedingly unpleasant reception to any one who ventured up there. The farmer of Selsund, however, admitted that he had never noticed any of these things. They approached the mountain from the west, passing over an area of utter desolation, often difficult to traverse because of the unevenness of the lava, until they reached a ridge consisting of large congealed flagstones which surrounded the mountain like a wall, forty to seventy feet high, and which made it impossible to take the ponies any farther. Here also the guide excused himself from accompanying them higher up on account of a severe headache, the real reason, as may be presumed, being his fear of ascending the dreadful mountain. Therefore they proceeded without him, and found the ascent comparatively easy, although great caution was necessary because the flagstones were covered with moss and consequently very slippery, while between them were deep holes. The weather was clear and quite cold as they approached the summit; this was covered with newly fallen snow which they had to wade through up to their knees; but there was no glacier there and old snow was found only in holes and fissures. They reached the top at 12 o'clock midnight. It was light as day, a perfect silence prevailed, but neither boiling springs, fire, smoke, nor

ravens were to be seen. The view was sweeping and beautiful.¹ The descent was quicker and easier, and when they rejoined their guide at the foot of the mountain, he had entirely recovered from his indisposition and expressed his surprise at their safe return.²

The next mountain to be ascended was Geitlandsjökull. Their instructions from the Royal Academy laid stress upon the gathering of information concerning glaciers and glacial phenomena, and they selected this glacier as the first object of investigation. Connected with it was a popular legend, first mentioned in the saga of Grettir, who is said to have associated with mountain folk living in a fertile valley, called Thórisdal, in the midst of the glacier,³ but Eggert characteristically states that their aim was not so much to discover a new region, or unknown inhabitants, which nature seemed to make impossible, as to observe carefully a glacier, and thus to obtain new information relative to these wonderful and little known works of nature and their origin. The trip took two days from Reykholt (Aug. 9 to 10, 1753), as the distance to the glacier proved greater than estimated and the approach to it more difficult. They were, however, fairly well prepared to cope with this, although their shoes were not well adapted for the purpose, while ropes and sticks with iron points were of great help. The fissures and ravines of the ice were successfully crossed but a high wind and snowfall retarded their progress, and as the snowstorm grew heavier their guides refused to go on, and thus they had to return without reaching the summit. The compass also failed them. In descending they noticed the entrance to a valley, but the inclemency of the weather made the exploration of it impossible, and they doubted also that it could correspond to the description of the alleged Thórisdal. Although not accomplishing their purpose, they had made numerous observations of the glacier, but the population was not surprised at the comparative failure of the trip, which in popular opinion ought never to have been undertaken. Nor were greater hopes held out for the success of the travellers' plan of visiting and investigating Surtshellir, a

¹ It is stated that the mountain Herðubreið could be seen from the summit, but that must be a misunderstanding.

² *Rejse*, pp. 862-70; *Kvæði*, pp. 86-90.

³ For the trip of two clergymen in search of Thórisdal 1664, see P. Thorodd-sen, *Landfrss. Isl.* II. pp. 102-104. About Thórisdal, see also *Islandica* XV.

cave there in the neighborhood. But here the popular prophecy fell short of fulfilment. They were able to explore the cave carefully, and have described it minutely and have come to the right conclusions as to its origin.¹

Next in order came Snæfellsjökull. The neighboring population looked upon any attempt at scaling it as rashness, and pictured in dark colors the dangers and difficulties to be encountered, asserting that the roughness of the sides and the steepness of the summit made the mountain inaccessible. Besides, even if the summit was reached, there was the danger of losing one's eyesight from the glare of the sun on the snow. And a story was told about two English sailors who had made an attempt at scaling the mountain; they had, to be sure, reached the top, but only one of them returned, and his eyesight was badly impaired. Then there was the old tradition about a mountain wight to whom any visitor would be unwelcome, and other superstitions of similar kinds were heard. But the explorers disregarded it all. They started from Ingjaldshóll, Eggert's childhood home, on July 1, 1754, at one o'clock in the morning. They were equipped with a thermometer (Fahrenheit), compass, barometer of a very primitive kind, and some crêpe for protecting their eyes against the sun, if necessary. The journey over the surrounding mountains proved rather long and tiresome; next to the glacier was a great number of holes, clefts, and caverns, some of great size. They could ride the ponies for some time over the glacier, but soon it became so uneven that they had to dismount and proceed on foot; the higher they got the more irregular became the compass until it was of no use. When they came to the top of the glacier they found three high peaks thrusting upwards, apparently inaccessible all of them; with much difficulty they finally succeeded in climbing the highest and the narrowest of them; but they could not carry the barometer with them, because it had fallen so low that the mercury was beginning to flow out of the bowl, caused partly by the air contained within the tube. The weather turned out better than expected, and they enjoyed a magnificent view over land and sea from the summit. The return trip was easy.²

Their last mountain excursion was unsuccessful. After the

¹ *Rejse*, pp. 86-102; *Kvæði*, pp. 91-92.

² *Rejse*, pp. 276-88; *Kvæði*, pp. 93-94.

big eruption of Katla in 1755, the crater was long active, and in the following summer they decided to investigate it. They started in the early morning of Aug. 28, 1756, up the Merkurjökull from the northwest. They were able to ride for some distance on the ice, until the icepeaks and fissures became impassable for the ponies. After dismounting they had to cut steps in the ice and jump over the rifts, and in doing that they broke a valuable thermometer. The higher they ascended the easier was the walking, but then the weather became very threatening, a high wind arose right against them, accompanied by snow and heavy clouds; the compass, however, was regular. They proceeded southeast, and when it cleared for a short while, they could see ahead of them a row of black peaks rising above the snow. These, the guide informed them, stood above the crater. They made for them, but the wind increased so that they could hardly stand, yet they managed to reach the peaks at noon; the weather, however, permitted no further observations; after having waited in a sheltered place throughout the afternoon, and not venturing to spend the night on the mountain, because an eruption had taken place two days before, they retraced their steps and arrived in camp towards night. The bad weather lasted all next day, and as they were in a desert where no pasture was to be found for their ponies, they had to strike camp and encircle the north edge of the glacier; a contemplated ascent from the northeast was frustrated by continued unfavorable weather.¹

From the preceding we have seen how the explorers heeded no superstitious warnings, but carried out their plans with determination wherever the natural conditions permitted. In other parts of his work the author frequently mentions popular superstitions of all kinds, and his attitude toward them is the same as in the cases mentioned above. He makes a record of them, but he does not believe them. When he does not directly declare them to be without foundations, he frequently tries to find some natural explanation of them, especially in cases when such stories had been told him by trustworthy persons, or such persons had asserted that they had seen such occurrences,² and even then he allows for the power of the imagination.³ Sometimes he ex-

¹ *Rejse*, pp. 768-72; *Kvæði*, pp. 96-98, 200-01.

² *Rejse*, pp. 55-56, 793-97, 877-79.

³ *Rejse*, pp. 740, 1026-28.

presses no opinion, but leaves the matter to the reader.¹ Supernatural powers of stones he considers fabulous.² Certain curious stories about animals he is inclined to accept,³ while he dismisses a recent story about a sea goblin as untrustworthy on account of the observers' poor judgment and lack of circumspection.⁴ His description of whales, around which had gathered all kinds of weird tales, is absolutely free from superstition. The belief in witchcraft he condemns, and deplores the excess to which it was carried in the seventeenth century, yet in view of the testimony of veracious people he does not entirely deny the influence of evil spirits and occult practices; these are to be defeated by pure life and religious conduct.⁵ The only alleged sorcerer he met turned out to be a very sensible person, and the magic weather which was ascribed to this man's machinations the author considers to have been entirely due to natural causes.⁶ Belief in ghosts, phantoms and fairies was, of course, alien to him, and once he seems to have had to interfere in a ghost panic which was raging in his neighborhood, and he allayed it *philosophice* and *physice*, to use his own expression.⁷

Eggert being the author of this great work has got most of the credit for it. But it must be borne in mind that, although he wrote it, the preparations and the materials collected for it were also the work of his travelling companion, Bjarni Pálsson, who was a man of learning, good sense, and great ability. Their collaboration was without a cloud, and they always remained the best of friends. Bjarni survived Eggert by eleven years.

IV.

Next in importance are Eggert's poems. Very few of them were printed during his lifetime, and those that were are among the least interesting. Shortly before his death he collected them, divided them into groups and wrote a preface to them. They were not printed until 1832, when they appeared under the title

¹ *Rejse*, pp. 893-95.

² *Rejse*, pp. 288-89, 423-26.

³ *Rejse*, pp. 58, 218-19, 528.

⁴ *Rejse*, pp. 537-40.

⁵ *Rejse*, pp. 479-81.

⁶ *Rejse*, pp. 492-93.

⁷ *Andvari*, II. pp. 175-76.

of *Kvæði*,¹ one of the editors being Tómas Sæmundsson, a kindred spirit. Thus they became available in print at a time when taste in poetry was changing, or, at least, about to change. Doubtless many of them were already known to the public; poems often had a remarkably wide circulation in Iceland though they had not been printed. The industrious copyists took care of that. But the printing of the poems at that period was no accident. The torch which Eggert had lighted was being taken up by other hands, rekindled and brought forward anew; his message was rewritten by young men, not with more fervor and sincerity than his, but in a more attractive form so it could be better remembered.² Hence his own poems are almost forgotten by the present generation.³

In the preface Eggert gives expression to his ideas about poetry with special reference to his own poems. His is the typical eighteenth century view of poetry. For him the art of poetry is the highest form of rhetoric, and the aim of the poet and the orator ought to be the same, that is, to move the human heart and thereby get a hearing and following. He makes clear the difference between the various poets, both as to their intellectual equipment, and their selection and treatment of different subjects. To be a perfect poet three qualities are essential, viz., facility in rhyme, high intellect, and good taste. Necessarily there are but few who have all these combined, yet there may be a number of tolerably good poets. With regard to his own poems he says that he has tried to make the form and music harmonize with the subject. He used both old and new metres, but especially when writing in the latter the metrical rules compelled him to use kennings and other unusual expressions, which he, however, considered no fault, as obscurity was a peculiarity of the ancient poetry. No Latin poems were included in the collection,

¹ *Kvæði* . . . *útfærin eptir þeim beztu handritum, er fengist gátu*. Kaupmannahöfn, 1832. 8°.

² See *Islandica* XI. p. 42ff.

³ This is shown by a glance at recent anthologies or other selections of Icelandic poetry. In the first edition of the popular anthology *Snót* (1850) were included five poems by Eggert, in the second edition (1865) were ten, in the third edition (1877) none. In the *Söngbók Stúdentafélagsins* (1894) is one poem; in Guðm. Finnbogason's *Lesbók* (1907-10) one ditty; in his *Afmælis dagar* (1916) is one stanza, in the same writer's *Hafræna* (1923) two poems. In Sig. Nordal's *Íslensk lesbók 1400-1900* (1924) there are three specimens of Eggert's poetry. In other recent works I have found nothing.

and for the classical mythological apparatus customary in poetry at that time he substituted generally one drawn from the Norse mythology.

As to the character of his poems they are with a few exceptions of the didactic and moralizing kind, sometimes in a serious and direct manner, at other times under a veil of satire or ridicule. In this he, of course, followed the usages of his time. His subjects are often badly adapted to poetic treatment, and although the poems are sensible, logical, even impressive, nay inspiring at times, they are frequently unæsthetic, and show lack of good taste now and then, but this is generally to be ascribed to the times. Obviously rhyme did not come easy to him. Eggert's poetic vein was more a product of cultivation than a natural gift. He chose the metrical form as the more agreeable and attractive for expressing what he had in mind, following the Virgilian maxim which he quotes: *Gratior est pulcro veniens e corpore virtus*. His poems are therefore essentially essays or treatises in rhyme, for a better understanding of which he provides introductory summaries and a quantity of footnotes containing short comments or explanations of words, which in a multitude of cases was very necessary considering the many novel, strange and antiquated words and expressions he was in the habit of using. But to equip poems with such paraphernalia was entirely in the style of the period.

His patriotic poems are most noteworthy, both because they are more numerous than those of any Icelandic poet before him, and above all because some of them strike an entirely new note. As most of these poems are undated and the arrangement of them in the collection is somewhat arbitrary it is difficult to find their succession and to follow their development. He has placed in front the poem called *Ísland* (Iceland)¹ which gives a survey of Icelandic history from the colonization of the country down to his own time. The historical views expressed there are conventional, and the framework awkward to say the least. He personifies the country as a woman into whose mouth the poem is put, and she informs us that she first was married to the colonists, by whom she had many children. Her early sons and daughters were vigorous, brave, and wise, but deterioration had set in of late, although she fails to give any good reasons for the change, especially as she emphasizes the change from Catholicism to

¹ *Kvæði*, pp. 1-29.

Lutheranism, which had given her children a new and better light on the eternal verities and freed them from greedy priests, while the king took all the property of the cloisters which, she says, he has repaid in full—yet the deterioration became most marked after all this had happened. So she has to blame it all on the vices and shortcomings of her children. But although things are bad, there is a gleam of hope for better days. She has now become old and decrepit, but in spite of this she has been betrothed to King Fredrick V, not because of his love for such an old woman, but out of the kindness of his heart, and it is from this that she ventures to hope for better days—a rather inelegant form of salvation, though entirely in conformity with the attitude towards the monarch at that time.

Another poem of bitter criticism is the *Tvídæggra*,¹ a satire of the type describing visits to imaginary countries, which had been revived by Swift and in Scandinavia by Holberg.² In a dream the poet is transported to the land of the *Sukkedokkar*, a name derived from an alleged Greek word ψυχόδοχοι (hunters of butterflies). Here he sees beings in human form and with human behavior whose principal occupation is to catch butterflies which they live on. The next night the poet is approached by a former inhabitant of the country who has left his burial mound to inform him about these strange beings he had observed the night before. They had indeed, he says, been good men and brave, but, as time went on, they had offended the guardian spirits of the country by their foolish behavior, unwise actions and neglect of useful things. The angered deities had given them time to reform, but when they did not mend their ways, the gods changed them into those wretched beings, only a few of the inhabitants escaping that fate. The satire is not clever or subtle, and has the same moralizing tendency as most of the foreign works of the type, and it is interesting now only as an Icelandic specimen of that genre. It shows the poet in the most despondent mood over the future of his nation.

His *Mánamál* (Speech of Máni)³ makes pleasanter reading. This is a colloquy between Ingólf, the first settler of the country,

¹ *Kvæði*, pp. 132–40.

² See J. Paludan, *Om Holbergs Niels Klim., med særligt Hensyn til tidligere Satirer i Form af opdigtede og vidunderlige Reiser*. Kjøbenhavn, 1878. 8°.

³ *Kvæði*, pp. 77–84.

Thorstein, his son, Thorkell Máni, his grandson, and one of their neighboring colonists. During the stillness of the night they leave their burial mounds, and take a view of the country and its inhabitants. Ingólf looks over the land he had taken possession of, and finds a smoke disagreeable to his nostrils emanating from his old home.¹ This gives him the occasion for a tirade against the living people. He dwells upon the good, old times, the festivities, fights and faith of his contemporaries which their descendants now neglected or had entirely abandoned, and he expresses his sympathy for the King of Prussia who still practiced warfare and strife. Máni does not deny his Prussian majesty's bravery but disapproves of his sacrificing men to the goddess of death, whereupon Thorstein reminds them that they are not concerned about the king but their own native land. Máni then defends the change of faith and says that the god they now worship is propitious to them. This soothes Ingólf's anger, and at their request Máni pronounces a prophecy about the future of the people, saying that their distress will soon come to an end, they will attend to their duties and their leaders will work for the good of the country; there will come forth men who reform their faults and failings, improve the government, spread knowledge, and revive literary activity; seafaring will be successfully restored, and prosperity and justice prevail. This pleases all the ghosts, and as day dawns they retire to their subterranean domiciles, satisfied with the outlook. The speech of Máni expresses the poet's fondest hopes for the future of his nation.²

If Eggert hurled reproaches at his countrymen, he never had a word of blame for his native land. He had nothing but praise for it. His love for it was genuine and without reserve. What exasperated him was that his compatriots had not energy, knowledge and understanding enough to make use of all the things land and sea offered them, and therefore he never tired of pointing out to them that the land was good enough, if only the inhabitants were wide awake and enterprising. There are numerous references to this in his poems, but he has devoted several poems to this subject alone. For instance the poems *Heimsótt* (Homesickness) and *Íslands-sæla* (The Bliss of Iceland).³

¹ This comes from the new industrial establishments in Reykjavík.

² Cf. also *Vísa um Ísland* (*Kvæði*, p. 195).

³ *Kvæði*, pp. 116-21.

In the first he analyzes the nostalgia of those who live in foreign parts, especially of those who are born in mountainous country—a subject which from that time on was often treated by Norwegian and Icelandic poets while living in Denmark, perhaps originally under influence from Haller. The poet describes how the sight of the mountains in their various colors delighted him in his youth, and how surprised he was when he first saw the flat land, that is, Denmark. In the beginning Copenhagen made a strong appeal to him, and he thought he would like to live there for ever, but he was then ignorant of the magic power which his native land exercised over him, and he soon felt this in its full force, desiring nothing more than to return to the haunts of his youth, tired as he was of city life. In another poem, the humorous *Hafnarsæla* (The Bliss of Copenhagen)¹ he describes in detail the pleasures of the Danish capital and contrasts them with the hard and primitive life in Iceland, yet apparently with a preference for the latter. The *Íslands-sæla* from beginning to end praises Icelandic nature and the various phases of life there. First the poet depicts the natural beauties of the country. In this respect Eggert's poems are a new departure in Icelandic literature, since they describe nature and beauties of the wilderness; here, of course, he was under the influence of foreign poets of the century; nor did he succeed, any more than they, in getting beyond general descriptions, and giving concrete pictures of landscapes. Next he dwells upon the life in the country at the various times of the year, the amusements and occupations appertaining to the different seasons, the plants and the animals which both give a joy to the eye and food for the body; the economic side is seldom left out of view, and the native products at all times given preference to the foreign ones. The poem winds up with a protest against those who derogate the country.² In another poem, the *Skjald-meyjarkvæði* (The Poem of the Amazon),³ he praises in a similar

¹ *Kvæði*, pp. 122–24.

² There is this forceful stanza (p. 121):

Pó að margur upp og aptur
Ísland níði búðar-raptur,
meira má enn kvikindis kjaptur
kraptur guðs og sannleikans, etc.

³ *Kvæði*, pp. 218–19.

manner, if in a humorous vein, the good qualities of Hornstrandir, the bleakest and most remote of Icelandic districts.

The metrical narrative of his travels brought together under the general title of *Ferðarolla* (A Scroll of Travels)¹ moves slowly and makes heavy reading.

V.

The most widely read of Eggert's poems, and in fact the greatest of them, is the *Búnaðarbálkur*² which was printed separately at Hrappsey, 1783 (see p. 34), and twice reprinted,³ and translated into Danish by Finnur Magnússon, the poet's nephew.⁴ In one hundred stanzas Eggert describes the country life in its bad and good aspects. It is divided into three cantos. The first of these is called *Eymdaróður* (Song of Misery), and goes to the roots of the unhappiness of people. No doubt there are evil spirits abroad in the Icelandic atmosphere, and they are prejudices—the innate, false and unsubstantiated opinions; these are the causes of the people's misery and poverty. The men who hold these prejudices do not avail themselves of the gifts of God, are unmindful of the offerings of nature around them, and pay no attention to the changes of the seasons beyond that required of them by the bare necessity of procuring their daily bread. They get married and their wives are equally slothful and thoughtless; the children of such a union die or turn out badly. When the nights are long, their homes are visited by ghosts and phantoms scaring the family who see all kinds of imaginary terrors. The spring with its long days and bright nights gives them no pleasure; they pay no attention to its life and beauties, to the joyful birds filling the air with song, or to the ground covered with beautiful flowers. They do not understand the will of God who wishes that the whole creation shall enjoy His gifts and make use of them.

The second canto, styled *Náttúrulíst* (The Joy of Nature), introduces to us a young man, the hero of the poem, standing on

¹ *Kvæði*, pp. 86–99.

² This is the title of the section relating to rural affairs in the ancient law-codes.

³ The 2d ed. is in the *Ármann á Alþingi* I. 1829, pp. 115–172; the 3d, in *Kvæði*, pp. 30–50.

⁴ *Det islandske Landlevenet. Et Læredigt i tre Sange*. Kiöbenhavn 1803. 8°, separately reprinted from the *Skandinavisk Museum* I. (cf. *Icel. Cat.* p. 439).

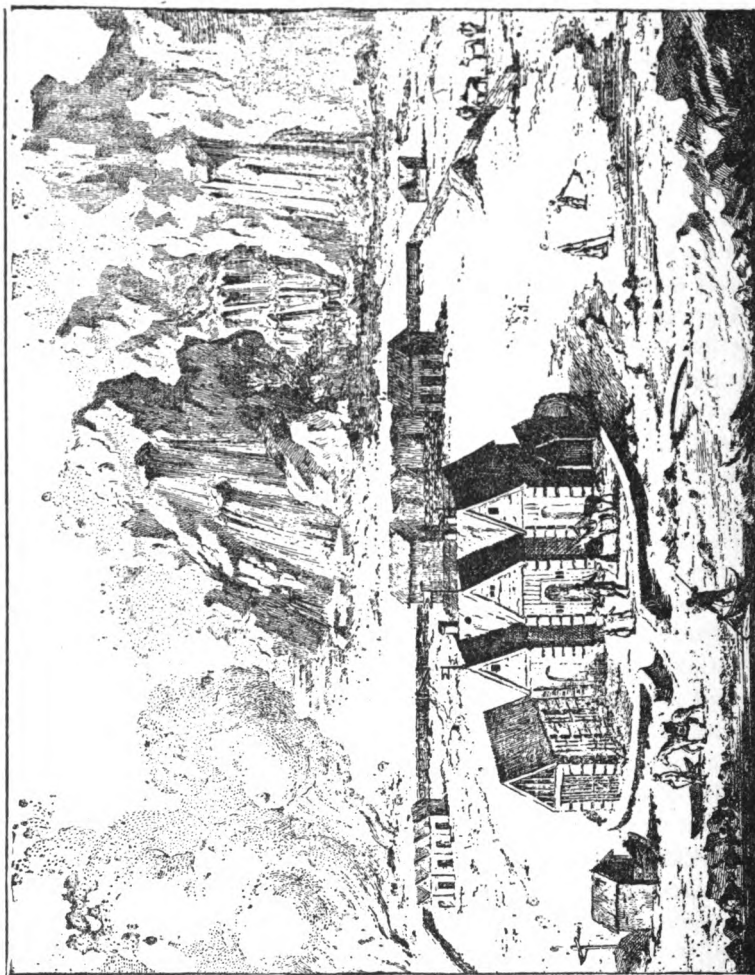
Roðrar
Hugleidingar,
 framsettar í **Liðum**
 sem nefnast
Búnaðar-
Bálkur,
 Sundurskiptar í þrino
Ræðe,
 um daglegt Búskapar-Líf Ís-
 lendinga; Hversu láft sé hica Lof-
 mörgum; Hvernig vera eige, ed-
 ur og verda mætte.
 Hicr er sleppt því almenñasta, sem enn brvfa
 til Rytsemdar og goodrar Dægradbalar,
 dugande Bændur, af hverium (Lof sé
 Guði) marger eru til, þo færir að reik-
 na mót hinum Fjöldanum sem hlut a
 i Eynd: Dæ og fleirum Klausum.
 Sumt er ævifæd í Fullsælu, Íslands-
 Sælu, Heim-Sótt og víðdar.

 Prentadur æ Hrappsey, i því konungl.
 privilegerada Bockþryckerie,
 af Gudmunde Jónssyne, 1783

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE *Búnaðarbálkur*.

the seashore at nightfall when all is quiet and silent and cast in shadow, meditating upon his future life, and saddened by his poverty which prevents him from starting a home of his own. The dawn of day awakens him from these reflections, and he sees the seabirds come forth, and joyfully seek their food, singing the praise of the Creator who provides for them. In the early morning light the young man wanders from the shore until before him opens a valley and in it he finds a pretty, green hollow which appeals to him as an ideal place to build a home. We are informed of its beauties and advantages, the flowers, the birds, and the fish in the stream; and fascinated by all this he builds his home here, but feels lonely seeing all the animals round him having a mate, so he goes and gets a wife, naturally a good one, and thus ends the canto after the foundations of his happiness have been laid.

The third canto, called *Munaðardæla* (The Vale of Bliss), opens with his meditations upon the happiness of him who knows well how to manage his land and earn his living from it in peace and by industry; what joy work gives to him who undertakes it thoughtfully and with serene mind; and he describes the various labors on the farm, always supporting his arguments by examples drawn from surrounding nature. He tells about his travelling far away from home, and his eagerness to get home again where he is received by his good wife who has been impatiently awaiting him; the happy homecoming is dwelt on at some length and ends with praise of his wife who is loved and respected not only by him and the whole household, but also, on account of her helpfulness, by all who are in distress. When winter comes the outdoor work decreases, and the family enjoy the fruits of their summer labor, so the winter instead of being unpleasant in fact provides men with various forms of amusements. The farm is a good place, it gives a smaller return than the sea, but it is more secure, and now he proceeds to tell about its products. Even in the winter one can grow vegetables and thus add to the pleasures of the table, just as other nations do; but it is a pity that his own compatriots have not got used to this and even scorn it. The spiritual and intellectual needs of the household are provided for by devotional services in the home and the reading of good literature during the long evenings. No evil spirits can enter here. The coming of spring is described



Aspect of an extraordinary Guard-Highway in Island.

AN ICELANDIC HOMESTEAD, 18TH CENTURY. (FROM THE REISE. REDUCED.)

together with the work which it calls for. Here he enumerates a number of foreign plants which could profitably be cultivated in Iceland, and with much benefit to the people; to this enumeration is added a catalogue of wild native plants, which might be used for various purposes, nutritive and medicinal, and some of which would make wholesome substitutes for such importations as tobacco and tea. To derive enjoyment and profit from nature is all important; and men should not be like pigs picking acorns at the roots of trees and never looking up to see what the acorns are or where they come from. Let every one work, because it gives joy; it is a happy lot to die after a laborious life, the rest is long enough hereafter, and the country will bear witness to a well-spent life. The poem finally closes with some quotations from the Ecclesiastes.

Thoroughly Icelandic as the poem is in form and substance, nevertheless it is evident that it is inspired and influenced by foreign movements and poetry. The doctrines of the physiocrats had found their way to the North, and the writings of Rousseau were becoming known there, and of this we find traces in the poem.¹ We can also find poetical models for it. Praising country life at the expense of that of the cities we find first in the North in two didactic poems, of the third decade of the eighteenth century, by the Norwegian poet and adventurer Povel Juul, which became very popular, at least one of them, and went through many editions.² I do not doubt that Eggert knew them. More immediate models were, however, Haller's *Die Alpen*,³ and Chr. B. Tullin's *Majdagen*,⁴ both of which praise the freedom, beauty, and happiness of rural life as contrasted with urban. But there was a difference, because Eggert could not draw the same parallels in Iceland as they did. No towns were there. So he seeks the contrast in the rural life itself, showing the difference between the life of the superstitious

¹ The following words in the dedicatory letter to Síra Björn point to Rousseau: '*Vita genus insuper, quod innocentissimum est, saluberrimum atque commodissimum; immo præ reliquis statui integritatis congruens et maxime delectabile*' (the Hrapsey ed.).

² *En god Bonde, hans Avl og Biæring*. Kiöbenhavn 1721. 8°.—*Et lycksaligt Liv eftertænkt da Indbildning og Forfarenhed derom disputerede*. Kiöbenhavn 1721. 4°.

³ This was first published in his *Versuch Schweizerischer Gedichte*. Bern 1734.

⁴ Appeared in 1758, and was often reprinted.

laggard and that of the virtuous, energetic, intelligent, and patriotic householder. He doubtless found plenty of the former kind in his country, so the picture is realistic, and for the latter he had, according to his own words, a model within his own family.

As mentioned above he lived for several years with Síra Björn, his brother-in-law. The poem is dedicated to him. In his dedication the poet writes that while the second canto is an account of the pastor's early life, the third canto is a life-like picture of him and his wife, their home and their work by day and year.¹ Síra Björn was a remarkable man. When he became pastor of Sauðlauksdal he was poor, but within a few years he had become prosperous through his unremittent labor, combined with foresight, initiative and originality, in conducting the farm which belonged to the parsonage, for that, however, never neglecting his pastoral duties which were heavy. He was an austere, humane man, probably more respected than loved by his flock for which he set the best of examples in rectitude, industry, and thrift. Nowhere in Iceland was found such a garden as at Sauðlauksdal.² The pastor-farmer was tireless in experimenting with the cultivation of foreign plants and trees, and while he was frequently successful with the former, the trees caused him many a disappointment, but he was dauntless in always trying something new. He was the first to cultivate potatoes in the country, which has proved a great boon to the population. He was equally interested in Icelandic plants as is shown by his book on the use of them.³ Thus Eggert's poem is in fact a real picture of the two sides of Icelandic rural life about the middle of the eighteenth century, and if he did not bring out all the causes of the sordid side of this life, he effectively exposed the fundamental ones, and by doing so, took the first step to eradicate them.

¹ The dedication is in Latin in the Hrappsey edition; an Icelandic translation of it precedes the 2d edition. It is dated at Sauðlauksdal 1764, but the poem was finished in 1762 (cf. *Andvari* II. pp. 182-83).

² See *Andvari* I. pp. 177-79, II. p. 140.

³ *Grasnytiar*. Kaupmannahöfn 1783. 8°.—He also wrote a guide for farmers, called *Atli*, and another for housewives, styled *Arnbjörg*; the first has been printed three times (see *Icel. Cat.* p. 218), the latter only once.—For the life of Síra Björn, see *Skírnir* XCVIII. 1924, pp. 90-139 (by Hannes Þorsteinsson).

Being convinced of the ample resources of the Icelandic soil, if they were only made use of, he did not stop at mentioning them in this and other poems. He wrote a large work, which he called *Lachanologia*, or book on vegetables and plants, both of native and foreign origin, which might be used for food, including rules for their cultivation, preservation, and preparation. This was one of the books which were lost with him, but fortunately Síra Björn had made an abstract of it, and this was printed in 1774.¹ A counterpart to this was his *Potologia* which never was printed but still exists in the author's original manuscript.² This deals with all kinds of drinks, foreign and domestic, the making of them and their use and value. Special attention is, of course, paid to the making of beverages out of domestic materials. Such drinks he considered both cheaper and more wholesome than the imported ones. Eggert is one of the first to advocate temperance among his compatriots. He saw altogether too much of the abuse of alcoholic drinks, and how inebriety was encouraged by the rapacious foreign merchants who always had plenty of bad, hard liquor for sale, even when they were short of the principal necessities for which the people were asking. In many poems Eggert touches this subject, showing what degradation this leads to, exhorting people to refrain from the strong drinks but instead make their own wines or mead of native products.³ Tea he considered also a foreign luxury, the use of which should be discouraged.⁴

In a poem mentioned above, Eggert looked for the rehabilita-

¹ *Stutt ágríp úr Lachanologia eda Maturlabók. Kaupmannahöfn 1774. 8°* (see *Icel. Cat.* p. 439).

² *Drecka bíður góð aata, edur nockrar greiner um það, hvítker drycker eru til heilnæmra vista holler og samkvæmer edle manna. Enn helst og ser í lage um dryck Islendinga og hans margfaldar tegunder etc. Samantekid í Saudl. dal aar 1761.* But there is also another title as follows: *Potologia Islandorum sive Tractatus historico-diaeteticus de potu Islandorum variisque ejus generibus cum eorum usu at abusu. . . . Það er Um dryck Islendinga og hans margfaldar tegunder, um naattúrlega og tilbúna drycke innlenda og útlenda, smecklausa og smackande, sterka og lina, svalande og nærande, aafenga og óaafenga, skadlega og nýtsamlega, hvörnæg þeir brúkest og brúkast eige hier aa lande. 4°. ff. 60.* (Advocates Library, Edinburgh, 21. 3. 5.)

³ Of the poems on the subject, see *Kvæði*, pp. 142-46, 172-79, 199. Upon the *Hegrakvæði* (172ff.), which shows the evil effects of drinking, follows immediately *Mjaddrekka* (178f.) in praise of the native mead.

⁴ See *Teflóskuvísur*, in *Kvæði* pp. 146-47, etc.

tion of the country through the benevolent aid of the monarch. We learn from the present poem that he saw deeper. The rehabilitation was to come from the people themselves. That was his real message to them, and it was a very timely one.

VI.

It was difficult to keep the absolute monarch out of the picture when any suggestions or plans were made for national progress. Consequently it is not surprising to find several poems by Eggert written in honor of the royal family. Our democratic age may scoff at them, but there is no reason to believe that they were not sincerely meant. They were perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the time. The absolute king was the center of every thing, and the idea of the monarchy as a divine institution had been somewhat modified by the then generally accepted doctrines, so as to give it a more popular aspect. The monarchy, according to these, was based upon an original compact between the ruler and the people. Hence the general opinion that the enlightened monarchy was for the best of the people; the principal object of the king was to look out for the welfare of his subjects, and without him nothing could be done. Eggert unquestionably shared this common opinion of the day. He was a thorough believer in authority from above as essential for the good of the people, and he frequently expresses the conviction that full equality would be dangerous, and he deplors the fact that the poverty of his country has obliterated class distinction, as no discipline and enforcement of law were possible without it.¹ Perhaps this belief in the blessings of the royal power was strengthened by his interpretation of Icelandic history, that the kings of Norway had brought peace to the country, at least he praises their mercy and mildness towards Iceland;² in another place he gives the kings credit for aid and benevolence of which they were entirely innocent;³ and he acquits them of rapacity in seizing the lands belonging to the cloisters.⁴ This, of course, is all due to his lack of clear conception of Icelandic history. Less excusable is, perhaps, his failure to see the relation between the

¹ See *Kvæði*, p. 15 (st. 31, note), 26 (st. 87), 186 (xv, st. 1ff.).

² *Kvæði*, pp. 14-15 (st. 29-31).

³ *Kvæði*, p. 77 (st. 22).

⁴ *Kvæði*, p. 18 (st. 43).

crown and the one class which he heartily hated, the merchant monopolists. He acknowledges that it would be best if the trade was free,¹ and he seldom loses an opportunity to express his contempt for the foreign traders of his times, reproaching his compatriots with too much deference to them, yet he never connects them with the king, although the royal government had let them loose on the people and protected them. The only excuse for this attitude may be found in the fact that the Danish government was about to change its policy in the matter, or rather was trying to change it, due to the persistent representations and urgings of Skúli Magnússon, Eggert's personal friend and co-worker for national revival.² King Fredrick V, although weak, vacillating, and dissipated, certainly was a well-meaning and humane ruler, and had the good fortune to be surrounded by able advisers who were anxious to better the condition of the people. Skúli obtained big sums of money from the royal treasury for industrial development in Iceland,³ and other enterprises, the government took charge of the trade for a while, and in various other respects showed its interest in promoting the welfare of the inhabitants. All this was without lasting results because of the fear of the government to break away from the policy of the past. Yet that it actually showed an interest in this and helped it along so surprised the Icelanders that they took to praising the monarch for his good will, and I believe no one was more prolific in writing such eulogies than Eggert. Even in poems where he expressed his outraged feelings at the humiliation of his country, as in the case of the Icelandic trade being offered to the highest bidder at a public auction, he could not abstain from praises for the monarch.⁴

An additional reason for these poems may possibly be that he wished to revive the old court poetry. It is noticeable that most of his poems on the royal family are in ancient metres and are artificial to the utmost. On all occasions during the reign of Fredrick V, Eggert was ready with his pen to express homage to the king on behalf of Iceland. He began in 1749 on the three

¹ *Kvæði*, pp. 17-18 (st. 39-40).

² See Jón Jónsson (Aðils), *Skúli Magnússon landfógeti*. Reykjavík 1911. 8°.

³ See Eggert's poem *Um þær nýu innréttingar á Íslandi* (*Kvæði*, pp. 84-85) which was printed separately at the time.

⁴ See *Markaðarríma* (*Kvæði*, pp. 168-71).

hundredth anniversary of the accession of the Oldenburg dynasty to the Danish throne,¹ he wrote for the king's birthday, 1757,² at the celebration of the centenary of the absolute monarchy,³ and on the death of Fredrick V and the ascension of Christian VI in 1766.⁴ On the death of Queen Louise in 1752 he wrote a poem in Danish and Latin,⁵ and also made an allegorical picture showing Iceland taking part in the sorrow of the royal family.⁶ On such occasions animate and inanimate nature was supposed to express or show profound grief. None of these poems make interesting reading, they are probably neither better nor worse than similar products issuing from the pen of Danish and Norwegian poets on such occasions. I am almost inclined to think that they are a little better, their language at least has the virtue of obscurity. The standard of the poetry written for special occasions was at that time at its lowest, whether pertaining to the

¹ *Kvæði*, pp. 74-77; see above, p. 8.

² *Friðriksvarði á Íslandi* (*Kvæði*, pp. 68-72).

³ *Einvalds vísur* (*Kvæði*, pp. 72-74).

⁴ *Kvæði*, pp. 103-107; see above, p. 14. Note the similarity between st. 3 of this poem and the beginning of Matth. Jochumsson's obituary poem on Jón Hjaltalín.

⁵ Printed in *Fuldstandig Beskrivelse over den kongelige Parade-Seng*, etc. Kjøbenhavn 1752. 8°. (See *Icel. Cat.*, p. 367.)

⁶ This picture is described in *Kvæði*, pp. 107-109. Here is, I believe, the first pictorial representation of Iceland personified as a woman, which in slightly different form reappears in the head-piece of *Friðreksdrápa* (1766), reproduced on p. 43. This latter picture is by Jonas Haas (1720-75), the Danish engraver, but that it was drawn under Eggert's directions we may presume from the fact that he felt called upon to defend it when some of his countrymen ridiculed it, see *Kvæði*, p. 194 (*Ísland með ermahnöppum*). This personification of the country is met with in his poem *Ísland*, and he also personifies the Icelandic tongue as a woman in the *Sótt og dauði íslenskunnar*. Whether the *Ísland* is older than the memorial picture of 1752, I am unable to tell; I should guess that they were not far apart. Here, I believe, is the origin of the idea of the *Fjallkona* as an allegory of Iceland. Síra Björn, in his poem on Eggert (*Lachanologia*, 1774) calls her *Fjörgyn*, but Bjarni Thorarensen is the first to call her *Fjallkona* (the word occurs in early Icelandic, meaning a giantess living in a mountain). A picture of this allegorical woman was made by Johann Baptist Zwecker (1815-76), the German painter, which was published as a frontispiece to G. E. J. Powell and Eiríkur Magnússon's translation of the *Icelandic legends*, 2d series (London 1866), and Benedikt Gröndal incorporated this figure into his drawing commemorating the millenary of the colonization of Iceland 1874. (See *Icel. Cat.*, p. 199; cf. *Ísafold* II. 1875, col. 94.)

HEADPIECE OF THE *Friðreks-drápa* (1766).

royal family or other mortals. Some of Eggert's poems concerning the latter are far above the average.¹

When we read the most serious poems of that period, passages in them often strike us as comical, while the humorous or satirical ones seem frequently devoid of what we associate with humor. The reason for this is doubtless that with those poets the sublime and the ridiculous, the solemn and the platitudinous were hardly to be separated. This is true in the case of many of Eggert's poems, there is really very little humor in the so-called humorous ones, whereas passages in the others sometimes make us laugh. Perhaps the most humorous is the *Lærdómsundur* (The Wonders of Learning) in which he makes fun of Linnæus and especially his ardent followers for pretending to grasp everything and classifying it, and for giving names from the classical mythology to all sorts of creatures of land and sea.² Some of his ditties or individual stanzas, however, are often sharp and hit the mark. The comical *Hödduríma* is a rather well-done, if at times somewhat coarse, imitation of the first canto of Holberg's *Peder Paars*. One side of the poet's character, his love for animals, is revealed by the pleasant *Titlingaríma* (Sparrow-song)³ and *Hrafnahróður* (In Praise of Ravens);⁴ the first tells the story of two sparrows which the poet saved from the clutches of death, kept in a cage in his room throughout the winter, trained, and finally sent as a present to the Danish king, at whose court they thrived well. The latter is an obituary poem on a small raven. As a true Icelander he also sang the praise of the native ponies, but none of these poems are very striking.

Almost all of Eggert's larger poems, even the humorous ones, contain a moral lesson; that was according to the maxim *utile dulci*. He often mentions the consolation and great value of philosophy. He was a religious man, but his religion seems to have been vague, and there are many references to virtue and wisdom of the indefinite kind. In the *Leiðarsteinn* (Loadstone)⁵

¹ E.g. *Sigurdrífumál* (*Kvæði*, pp. 179-81), etc.

² *Kvæði*, pp. 152-55. I do not know whether this has any connection with Haller's criticism of Linnæus. He said that Linnæus was aping Adam by naming all animals afresh, and accused him of being an autocrat in botany and zoology (cf. B. D. Jackson, *Linnaeus*. London 1923, p. 277).

³ *Kvæði*, pp. 205-14.

⁴ *Kvæði*, pp. 215-16.

⁵ *Kvæði*, pp. 56-62.

he puts forth his conception of the former. The poem represents a wanderer who is debating with himself what course of life he should follow, being in grave doubt as to it, because he sees how many have attained success and apparent happiness in life, although their conduct has been contrary to what he would consider right. But he makes up his mind that there is a God, who rewards virtue and punishes sin, who rules the whole creation, especially the human beings, whom he has given free will and conscience to guide their conduct. Unfortunately men often act against their reason and the voice of conscience, the evil consequences of which are pointed out. The chief element of virtue is constancy, as illustrated with examples from classical literature. God in his mercy has, besides the natural light, revealed his will to men, so they can reach the perfectness of virtue and through it eternal happiness. Another poem, the *Lukkudans* (Fortune's Dance),¹ pictures the two kinds of fortune, one is the goddess of the ancients who runs blindly on a globe over sea and land, whereby her instability is evident; she is not the true one, and he who catches her will suffer the fate of Ixion and embrace a cloud for Juno. The true and steady fortune goes by measured steps, and is created by God, and only the wise and good can obtain her, and they alone will know how to conduct themselves both in prosperity and adversity. And what constitutes happiness in this world? Martial has given an answer to this in one of his epigrams (x. 47) of which we have two renderings by Eggert,² and according to which the requirements for it are sufficient inherited property, peace, health, friends, good wife, and equanimity. But Eggert in his *Vitringasæla* (The Happiness of the Wise)³ maintains that this will not satisfy the wise man; he must use well the gifts of God, be helpful to his neighbors, be industrious, know himself, love virtue, obey the dictates of his intellect and conscience, and be fearless of others' criticism. Good conscience is the impregnable fortress of the wise, and continuous progress in wisdom the highest happiness.

During the last four years of his life Eggert took to reading theological books, and this ultimately brought about a change in his religious views, as two poems written in the year he died bear witness. The earlier of these,⁴ an acrostic of his name,

¹ *Kvæði*, pp. 64-66.

² *Kvæði*, pp. 103, 62-63.

³ *Kvæði*, pp. 63-64.

⁴ *Kvæði*, pp. 113-14 (*Viðurkenningarsálmur*).

contains the confession that he has found nothing in science and philosophy which can satisfy his thought, but finally found consolation in the revealed word of God, and he throws himself upon His mercy. The second poem,¹ written only a fortnight before his death, is a review of his poetical writings. He uses as a text I. Cor. 11, v. 31-32, and accordingly takes himself to task for his transgressions, analyzing the reasons for his writing, not forgetting anything that might count against him, such as having a few times written satirical poems to sacred tunes. He hopes that now he has made a clean breast of it, some of his poetry may ultimately serve some good cause, the rest being buried in oblivion. It is as if he had some forebodings that his end was near.

VII.

A favorite author of Eggert's was Balthasar Gracian, the Spanish Jesuit, whose famous *Oraculo manual* he found an invaluable guide to right conduct. Selections from it he rendered into Icelandic as early as 1753, but this has never been printed and his original manuscript is now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.² He also wrote a most eulogistic poem on the book, extolling it as one that could cure the blind of their blindness, make the seeing see clearer, strengthen the clairvoyance of those endowed with second-sight, and so on, and confessing that it had been a help to him in his trials and troubles.³ The translation is not made from the Spanish original but from Amelot de la Houssaie's French version, the title of which is *L'homme du cour*, and which was first printed in Paris, 1684, and thereafter went through a number of editions.⁴ Eggert did not at first divide the maxims into chapters or sections as is done in the original and the French translation, but afterwards he made such a division, which agrees to a great extent with that of the original, writing the headings usually in the margin. The French translator had annotated the work with numerous footnotes principally drawn from classical literature. These Eggert has very frequently incorporated into his rendering without any indication that they did not belong to the original text. The selection of

¹ *Kvæði*, pp. 232-36 (*Endurkviða*).

² MS. Bor. 97: *Nockrar hnyttelegar heimspeke-greiner*, etc., see p. 47.

³ *Kvæði*, pp. 189-90.

⁴ What particular edition Eggert used can not be ascertained. They did not differ much.

Röckrar
 Þnylltlegar heimsspekar
 Dr. einer, ^{es}
 Lijtkunnar forsalinis
 Lijfnadar Reglur
 ütdragar
 af
 þess Spanská herra
 Baltásar Gracian
 Hofmáns
 el Tronku en Splendour
 ütlagðar
 Anno 1753.

§ 1. ^{11.} ^{12.}
 Leind blutarens lotur hán vgrðalt
 Þegonē er vgrðla forsalinēnar.
 Sá iēm talat hán stán að demalt.
 Ven Grulu Gude líkja st iēm dyl merēna.
 Sá ein mā mikill kalla st iēm veit, sá iēm þáke
 Sveit hán gietur.
 Jengca leiger að ein dagur vitur mān.
 Sá bette en þar leingda lif ein þeimkinen
 Heimdunz m'er þormyrkvad Tunal.
 Vit sákeide er iēm sgu er handur.
 Ep breitten fram hveinden þvlar er þa
 er vited obria.
 Julur amas þápe i ad leidmuren vete gylp
 m ehlara māna, gull gáufuara, gvm
 Steir hauptingia.
 Seidomslaw hvilt er, man þeins lifande

THE FIRST PAGE OF GRACIAN'S *L'homme de cour*. TRANSLATOR'S AUTO-
 GRAPH.

the maxims is somewhat at random, but as a rule the French text is closely followed; on the whole it reads well; at times occur, however, rather clumsy renderings and occasionally the choice of words is unfortunate. The translation deserves a closer study, but there is not space for this here. Gracian's work has had a great influence upon Eggert, as may be seen from some of his poems, and as the translation is also linguistically interesting it ought to be printed. But even Gracian ceased to please him. In his last poem mentioned above, he admits that even this favorite of his was capable of recommending things not consistent with the conduct of a Christian.¹

VIII.

In his efforts to reform the mother tongue Eggert was a pioneer. I have in an earlier volume in this series briefly mentioned his work in this field. No one at that time had a better knowledge of the spoken language, since he had travelled practically through the whole country, and paid special attention to this. I have summarized there his description of the speech in the various districts, and also given an account of his poem on what he styled the disease and death of the Icelandic.² This was a stirring, if to our taste somewhat strange, appeal to his compatriots to preserve the tongue of their ancestors. As the poem was not printed until 1832, it probably did not become very widely known at the time, although quite a few manuscript copies of it exist. I take it for granted, although I am unable directly to prove it, that Eggert's efforts in this respect were influenced by similar movements in the other Scandinavian countries.

It is interesting to cast a glance at his prose style as it appears in his writings at various times. The earliest of these which has come under my notice is his translation of Gracian's book. Although we find there many impurities of foreign origin, a somewhat forced diction with many unusual words and expressions, which occasionally are hardly to be understood without reference to the French text; yet the language on the whole is good, natural and pleasing, and stands above the average prose style of the period, especially when it is considered that that

¹ *Kvæði*, p. 235 (st. 51).

² See my *Modern Icelandic* (*Islandica* XII.) 1919, pp. 18-21.—Cf. *Rejse*, index under *Sprog*; *Kvæði*, pp. 124-132.

particular work was in places, at least, difficult to translate. Two years later Eggert published the *Harmataulur* (see p. 50) on his uncle and fosterfather. A look at the title-page immediately shows that here we have to do with something out of the ordinary; all through the orthography is most unusual, and archaic to a degree, and one needs not read long before stumbling over words which are puzzling. In a preface the author deemed it necessary to give his reasons for this departure from the usual way of writing, suspecting, as he says, that his style would be looked upon as an affectation. To imitate the ancient poets, he says, lends dignity and gravity to poetry, and although it is not possible to rise to their high level of poetic art, yet it is worth while making the attempt. Such imitations may often be difficult of understanding to the reader, yet it will repay his efforts to try to get at the meaning. Certain classes of poetry, like hymns, which ought to be easily intelligible to the general public, ought not to be written in that way. As to prose, he considers it preferable to go back to the early written language rather than to use that spoken at the time, because this is apt to be either incorrect or impure, or both. Therefore he uses on purpose antiquated words and phrases which were rarely heard in the spoken language, because he thinks these ought to be revived, when they are good and serviceable. The preservation of the language, as well as the observance of other national customs, he maintains, gives stability to the character of the nation, which otherwise through strong foreign influences would become weak and unsteady. Bad customs he does not wish to perpetuate even though they be national and of old standing, nor does he oppose innovations from outside when they are good.

Eggert never wrote again anything in prose so forced as this pamphlet. He probably realized himself that he had gone too far, and it is not unlikely that Síra Björn who had sound taste for and good knowledge of his mother tongue, as his dictionary shows,¹ may have convinced his brother-in-law that his views and method needed modification. These two remarkable men must have exercised great influence upon one another. The future lexicographer, true to a strict religious upbringing, once protested against the printing of Icelandic sagas by the Hólar press,² but while making his dictionary he could not have held

¹ See *Modern Icelandic*, p. 30.

² *Skírnir* XCVIII. pp. 116-117.

Noðrar Hvg-brenstelegar
 Harma = Taulur,
 Efter Algætan Mann
 Gvþmunn
 Sigvordarson,
 Uestan fra Ingiallds Hole a Snæfells Nese.
 Er fyrst XII. uisna Flokkr og þola
 fyre framan.
 Þa fylger
 Stytt Tala,
 um Myn Lifs oc Daupa Uisra oc
 Skam-Uisra Maña;
 Enn Sipurst er
 Nue Hanns.

SENECA lib. de Provid. Cap. 2.

Uyrðet eige dauhan nockurs, seger Gvð; þui hann
 beser eg anþvellðarstan gavrðt allra lata: Nðar
 Juggaongo tima beser eg langan gavrðt; enn vta
 gavgngotiman skiotare helldr enn auga uerde skomet.
 Siaet nu, huat skammr og greidr úegren er til
 ypar fresses!

 Prentað i KUNUNDRUNN, HOFN
 I þvi Konunglega Bæklen-Huuse, af Gottmann.
 Friderich Kisel, 1755.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE *Harma-taulur*.

the same view as to the old literature, and it is not unlikely that Eggert with his enthusiasm for it brought Síra Björn to the full realization of its importance; on the other hand the latter had possibly some part in the change which Eggert's religious convictions took towards the end of his life. Síra Björn was one of those pastors of the old school who during the reign of Fredrick V gradually extended their interests so as to include natural science and other branches of learning, and who thus form as it were a transition to the clergy of a more rationalistic type.

At the urgings of his friends Eggert next undertook to write a treatise on Icelandic orthography, the original of which seems to have been lost with him, but he had made in 1762 an abstract of it which he sent to his friends, and of which many manuscript copies exist, the one I have had access to being in the British Museum.¹ In an introduction he points out the importance of the subject, in a much clearer way and less affected language than in the *Harmataulur*. Thereupon he gives a list of Icelandic equivalents to the Latin grammatical terms, and these are largely of his own invention, and few, if any, have survived. The pronunciation which he takes as basic for his work is that contemporary one, which he thinks differs least from the old. He gives in alphabetical form the rules for the uses of the various letters, as these may be drawn from ancient manuscripts, later writings, and from the pronunciation of the day, frequently with references to foreign languages, especially Danish. Appended are several chapters dealing with the use of capitals and small letters, division of words, punctuation, abbreviations, the various forms of handwriting, a list of Icelandic solecisms, and a chapter on euphony. And in order to give greater emphasis to the importance of right spelling and correct pronunciation, as well as of pure language in general, which he had pointed out in the introduction, he has added a postscriptum about the stress foreign nations lay upon this by mentioning that some of them have founded special academies for the purpose, such as the French Academy and the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* of Anhalt.

The work is one of the largest on the subject in the language,

¹ The title is: *Stutt aagrip úr Rettritabók Íslendinga hvør's titull er Nockrar óreglulegar reglur, j spurningum framsettar eptir ABC um það hvørnveg rett eige að tala, bókstafa og skrifa þaa nú lifande Íslendsku tungu. Fyrsta aavarþ j flyte samanteket aared MDCCCLxij.*

does great credit to its author, and exercised considerable influence. It shows his wide reading in and intimate knowledge of the old manuscripts, his familiarity with the spoken language of the day, and on the whole his good judgment. It is unnecessary to point out that it has many faults, such could not be avoided, but these are in a great measure due to the imperfect linguistic science of the day. Eggert was well fitted for writing it, perhaps better than any of his contemporaries. He was a good linguist; he had studied some Greek, was a good Latinist, and well versed in the modern languages. He compiled or made drafts of dictionaries of French, English, and German with Icelandic translations, all of which were lost with him. He also had a reading knowledge of Italian and even of Portuguese, and knew, of course, Danish and Swedish.

IX.

The news of Eggert's sudden and untimely death caused universal sorrow among his countrymen. Seldom, if ever, has Iceland mourned so deeply any of her sons. A feeling of almost irreparable loss prevailed, and seems even today as fresh as ever in the popular mind. The profound regret is not more strongly expressed by the poets of that age than by poets of more recent dates.¹ Gunnar Pálsson's poem gives utterance to

¹ There is a number of poems on Eggert both by contemporaries and later poets. In Björn Halldórsson's *Æfe*, poems by Gunnar Pálsson, Sveinn Sölvason and Þórarinn Jónsson are printed; many have never been printed. One printed separately at the time may be specially mentioned; this is by Ólafur Olavius and has a title as follows: *Drauma diktur um Söknud og sorglegan missir þess Havittra, Gósfuga og Goda Manns Herra Eggerts Olafssonar Vice-Lögmanns sunnan og austan á Islande á samt Hans dygdum pryððrar Konu Frur Ingibiargar Gudmunds Dottur sem að Guds rade burtkölluð þann 30 May 1768. sínum Astvinum og Naungum til harms og sorgarauka, enn Föðurlandsins rettsinnudum Elskendum til hugarbóls og hrellingar saminn af einum þeirra þreyande Vin O. O.* Colophon: *Prentað í Kaupmannahöfn af Paul Herman Höeche. 1769. 4° ff. (8).* There are head- and tail-pieces, both engraved by J. Haas, but possibly drawn by the author of the poem. The tail-piece represents a shield with the initials of the couple, and the inscription: *Mors piis requies*. The head-piece is more elaborate, and is reproduced here. The explanation of it is given in the pamphlet. The picture represents a roaring sea, in the midst of it a capsized boat, to which a man and woman cling by their hands, between which stands: *Mors vita nobis*. To the right is a high promontory, in front of which Minerva is seen, ready to save her devotee, but to her great sorrow is unable to do so. The cock and the owl represent



HEADPIECE OF OLAVIUS' *Drama diktur* (1769).

the intense sorrow of a personal friend as well as of the general public, but those of Jónas Hallgrímsson and Matthías Jochumsson show this in no less degree. People had placed such high hopes in Eggert that it seemed inexplicably wanton and cruel that he should be snatched away at so early an age. So far he had been a scholar, student of everything concerning his native land, critic and mentor of the people. Now he was about to enter upon a double career, that of landowner and householder who would put to test his own teachings, and that of a public official. From this fate barred him, and thus perhaps made the memory of him all the brighter. As it was, he had done his life work. He had awakened the people by urging them to love their language, love and believe in their land, have confidence in themselves, use the resources at their disposal, and to look upward and forward, preserving at the same time scrupulously their national heritage. This thought goes through all his works, the exact words in which he expressed it may be forgotten, but the spirit lives on. His work represents a turning point in the history of the people, the scales had moved, and it seemed henceforth certain which course the nation was to follow.

It is, however, not alone this message of his which keeps his memory fresh. A personal element enters also. He had travelled all over the country and met men of all classes, so he probably was known personally to a greater number of people than any of his countrymen at the time. His appearance, his manners, his talk—in one word his personality had impressed itself indelibly upon the popular mind and remained as it were engraved there. Unfortunately we have no portrait of him, but we have a fairly minute description of him by Síra Björn. He was a tall man, handsome of face, strongly built, excelled in all kinds of sport, and added to his wide learning an artistic talent. He was resolute, somewhat grave, yet in daily intercourse cheerful. He was complete master of his emotions in joy and sorrow. In minor matters he might show excitement but in affairs of greater importance he remained calm. He expressed his opinion frankly and generally in slow speech. He was very sensitive as to his dignity and honor, temperate in the different qualities of the goddess. The women to the left bewail the fate of their sister. Out of the cloud emerge two angels with trumpets; one announces: *sum missus ab alto—solvens juncta prius*; the other: *sum missus ab alto—jungens juncta prius*. The poem itself is indifferent.

high degree, most regular in his habits, and generous towards those who were in need. He was kind and helpful to his kinsmen when they deserved it. He loved his native land and never was in agreement with those who hated it or sought to enrich themselves at its expense. He was appreciative of all innovations which he thought might be useful or had proved to be so, and supported those who brought them forward. Popular prejudices and errors he tried to eradicate. All his life he kept aloof from quarrels among men, only interfering when he saw the possibility of settling them or bringing about reconciliation. This indeed is an engaging picture, and probably in no way overdrawn. And it is this which has been handed down from one generation to another. It shows him as the attractive, eager, and high-minded champion of his country, for ever young, because—to use the words of an Icelandic poet about another man who suffered a similar end—no one saw him old.

APPENDIX.

I.

1. ATLI HUNDÓLFSSON the Slim (earl of Gaular in Sogn, Norway, killed in the battle in Stafanesvágr, Fjalir, ca. 900).
2. HÁSTEINN (*al.* Hallsteinn) ATLASON (settled at Stokkseyri, Iceland, *d.* ca. 917), *m.* Póra Ólvisdóttir.
3. ATLI HÁSTEINSSON (of Traðarholt, *d.* 926).
4. ÞÓRÐUR ATLASON the Torpid (lost at sea 939), *m.* Þórunn, daughter of Ásgeir Austmannaskelmir.
5. ÞORGILS ÞÓRÐARSON ORRABEINSSTJÚPUR (*b.* 937, *d.* 1022; was in Greenland 986–92; cf. the *Flóamanna saga*), *m.* Helga, daughter of Þóroddur Eyvindsson goði of Hjalli.
6. GRÍMUR ÞORGILSSON, called Glamaður.
7. INGJALDUR GRÍMSSON.
8. GRÍMUR INGJALDSSON.
9. EÍNAR GRÍMSSON (of Kaldaðarnes).
10. HALLKATLA EÍNARSDÓTTIR, *m.* Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson (*b.* ca. 1170, *d.* March 4, 1213. Cf. his saga, *Ísländica* I. pp. 52–53).
11. HERDÍS HRAFNSDÓTTIR, *m.* Sigmundur Gunnarsson (who took part in the battle of Húnaflói, 1235).
12. SVEINBJÖRN SIGMUNDSSON (of Súðavík, *d.* ca. 1290).
13. EIRÍKUR SVEINBJARNARSON, Knight (*d.* 1340 or 1342; governor of Iceland 1323), *m.* Vilborg, daughter of Einar Þorvaldsson of Vatnsfjord.
14. EÍNAR EIRÍKSSON, Knight (of Vatnsfjord; *d.* ca. 1381), *m.* Helga of Grund in Eyjafjord (probably Þórðardóttir).
15. BJÖRN EÍNARSSON Jórsalafari (the Crusader; *b.* ca. 1350, *d.* 1415), *m.* Solveig, daughter of Þorsteinn Eyjólfsson, the lawman.
16. KRÍSTÍN BJÖRNSDÓTTIR (*d.* 1459), *m.* Þorleifur Árnason (a descendant of Ólafur pá, cf. *Laxdæla saga*; *d.* 1432).
17. BJÖRN ÞORLEIFSSON the Wealthy, Knight (*b.* ca. 1408, *d.* 1477; governor of Iceland from 1457), *m.* Ólöf, daughter of Loptur Guttormsson the Wealthy of Möðruvellir.
18. ÞÓRA BJÖRNSDÓTTIR (illegitimate daughter, her mother unknown), *m.* Guðni Jónsson (prefect of Dalasýsla, etc., *d.* 1508).
19. BJÖRN GUÐNASON (of Ögur, *d.* 1518), *m.* Ragnhildur Bjarnadóttir.
20. GUÐRÚN BJÖRNSDÓTTIR the elder (*b.* 1489, *d.* 1563), *m.* Hannes Eggertsson, Knight (*d.* ca. 1533; governor of Iceland).
21. BJÖRN HANNESSON (*d.* 1554; prefect of Barðastrandarsýsla), *m.* Þórunn, daughter of Daði Guðmundsson of Snóksdal.
22. HALLBJÖRG BJÖRNSDÓTTIR, *m.* Þorleifur Jónsson (of Múli, Skálarnes).
23. EÍNAR ÞORLEIFSSON (of Múli), *m.* Guðrún, daughter of Þorlákur Einarsson (prefect of Ísafjarðarsýsla, *d.* 1596; brother of Bishop Gizzur).
24. ÞÓRÓLFUR EÍNARSSON (*d.* 1649), *m.* Þorkatla Finnadóttir of Flatey.

25. INGIBJÖRG ÞÓRÓLFSDÓTTIR (*d.* 1706), *m.* Nikulás Guðmundsson (minister of Flatey parishes, *d.* 1708).
26. GUÐRÚN NIKULÁSDÓTTIR (*d.* 1731), *m.* Sigurður Sigurðsson (*d.* 1744, of the Svalbarð family).
27. RAGNHILDUR SIGURÐSDÓTTIR (*d.* 1768), *m.* Ólafur Gunnlaugsson (*d.* 1784).
28. EGGERT ÓLAFSSON (1726–68).

II. The Svalbarð Family.

There is a tradition that this can be traced back to Egill Skallagrímsson (*d.* ca. 983) thus:¹ 1. Þorsteinn Egilsson. 2. Helga the Fair Þorsteinsdóttir (the heroine of the *Gunnlaugs saga ormsstungu*), *m.* Þorkell Hallkelsson. 3. Haukur Þorkelsson. 4. Höskuldur Hauksson. 5. Steinn Höskuldsson. 6. Vermundur Steinsson. 7. Loðinn Vermundsson. 8. Vermundur kögur Loðinsson. 9. Guðbjartur Vermundsson. 10. Ásgrímur Guðbjartsson, priest of Bægisá.

11. GUÐBJARTUR ÁSGRÍMSSON, called Flóki, priest of Laufás and officialis of Hólar see.
12. ÞORKELL GUÐBJARTSSON (*d.* after 1483), priest of Laufás and officialis of Hólar.
13. MAGNÚS ÞORKELSSON (*d.* after 1534; of Skriða í Reykjadal), *m.* Kristín, daughter of Eyjólfur Arnfinnsson, Knight.
14. JÓN MAGNÚSSON, of Svalbarð (*d.* after 1564), *m.* Ragnheiður Pétursdóttir "in the red stockings" (*d.* before 1547).
15. SIGURÐUR JÓNSSON, of Reynistað (*d.* 1602), *m.* Guðný Jónsdóttir of Akrar.
16. JÓN SIGURÐSSON, lawman (*b.* 1565, *d.* 1635), *m.* Þorbjörg Magnúsdóttir.
17. SIGURÐUR JÓNSSON, "lögréttumaður" of Svalbarð, *m.* Katrín, daughter of Síra Jón Magnússon of Laufás (*d.* 1675).
18. SIGURÐUR SIGURÐSSON, *m.* Guðrún Nikulásdóttir (see above).
19. RAGNHILDUR SIGURÐSDÓTTIR, *m.* Ólafur Gunnlaugsson.
20. EGGERT ÓLAFSSON.

¹ See Bogi Benediktsson, *Sýslumannaæfir* I. pp. 7–8; Jón Pétursson, *Tímarit* IV. p. 29; Jón Þorkelsson, *Saga Magnúsar þrúða*, 1895, p. 3ff.

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